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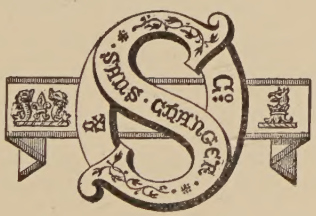
THE History of the Church of England.

From the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time.

BY

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Rector of Waddington, late Fellow & Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford.

IN THREE VOLUMES.
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Preface.

The object of the following Work is to state the facts connected with the History of our Church after the Reformation-period in sufficient detail to interest, and with fairness and impartiality. It is believed that the want of such a work is very generally acknowledged. Neither among the older nor more modern writers on Church History have we exactly such a book as is above intimated. It is not pretended in this volume to exhibit much that is new. The Work is compiled from the ordinary printed sources. It will be found, however, here and there illustrated from MSS., and recent publications of MSS., such as those of the Camden Society. Some attempt has been made to review and present the substance of the principal works on Divinity of the period.

In a volume requiring references to a considerable number and variety of authors, errors will doubtless be detected, but it is hoped that, in the main, accuracy of statement and arrangement has been preserved.

The writer desires to thank the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln for the free use which they have allowed him of their excellent Library.

Waddington, June, 1861.

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OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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The death of Elizabeth an epoch.



HE death of Elizabeth marks an epoch in the history of the English Church. The period of the Reformation is past. The Church having learnt a theology and a ritual, having withstood the buffetings of Papist and Puritan, is able to dispense with the support of the vigorous hand which upheld it, and to stand by its own strength. In the quiet last years of the great Queen's reign, the historian is able to find a moment's breathing-time, and to cast his eyes back over the struggles of near a century. He can trace the Providential overruling so manifest throughout all the period of convulsion—selfish and evil motives producing good and useful results—a time of political weakness allowing opportunity for a great religious work—the bitterness of fanatical murderings giving the strength of a baptism in blood—the haughty arbitrariness of tyranny directed in a channel of profit and glory to the nation. While he will find much to censure throughout all the period, he will also be able to recognise great argument for praise, and to look back with the glance of affectionate gratitude to the men, who, in those troublous times, amidst the deep upheavings

Providential overruling in the English Reformation.

of all the ancient landmarks, had the sense to see, and the firmness to hold fast, the good things of old.

The change of religion in this country was brought about by the action of the Government, not, as in Scotland and Germany, by popular movement and impulse. The considerable insurrections under Henry VIII., Edward, and Elizabeth, testify that the humbler classes clung much to the old faith. It was the policy of the rulers backed by the support of the intelligence of the nation which carried forward the Reformation. To this the change of religion owes its conservative character. Hence we were spared the horrors of an iconoclastic devastation. Hence a calmly considered ritual became possible, and the forms of primitive antiquity were preserved to us. We can scarcely over-estimate the importance of this. In the certain conflict of opinions which arises when the deep thoughts of the heart are stirred, it is much to have saved the creeds and formularies of venerable age, in which humble and loving souls can contentedly acquiesce. It is much not to be driven to construct afresh all the fundamentals of religion. It is much to have some first principles on which to build—a character impressed both on theology and ritual, which shall give a distinctive mark to the struggling Church, a purpose and a meaning to the efforts of its defenders. This, which has been denied to the Presbyterian Reformed Churches, was happily permitted to the Church of England. Reforming slowly and calmly under the shadow of power; not driven in

Its conservative character.

Importance of this.

Chap. I.

a moment of excitement to cast off everything, and to rush wildly into the extreme most opposite to the old tainted superstition, the divines of the Reformation were able to conserve with a moderation which we cannot too much admire. They were able to avoid drawing over-tightly the necessary definitions and limits of conformity,* and to take in with a glance of comprehensive wisdom all the different elements for which they had to find a place in their system. How many thoughtful and holy men — how many Hookers, and Herberts, and Hammonds, and Kens — names canonized in the affections of all good churchmen—do we owe to this calm wisdom!

Personal character of the rulers in the Reformation-era not favourable.

Great, however, as was the advantage of reforming under the shadow of power, it is nevertheless to be noted, on the other side, that the personal character of the rulers who promoted the change of religion was not the most suitable for a calm and temperate review of the fundamentals of our faith. It is probable that the majority of Englishmen will ever regard Henry VIII. as a lustful and cruel tyrant, who had no definite religious purpose save the reckless assertion of his own will; and in spite of all that has been written to the contrary, we believe that the popular verdict is the true one. Elizabeth, with her arbitrary vigour, her unhesitating seizure of Church property, and her unscrupulous tyrannising over Churchmen, must have

* "Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments."—Fuller.

been a princess under whom a temperate and judicious Church Reform was extremely difficult.

Great services of Archbishop Whitgift.

Probably, to no man in our Church history do we owe more than to Archbishop Whitgift. He understood and accepted the necessities of his position: he was severe, perhaps harsh; but his tendency was towards toleration, as is shown by his politic treatment of Cartwright and Travers, his humane solicitations for Udall, and the authors and abettors of the Mar-Prelate libels.* As far as the difficulties of his position permitted him he studied peace with all men. But that which was most admirable in him was his bold and undaunted spirit. Let it not be supposed that the Puritan clergy were without powerful backers in the Queen's Council. No less than eight Privy Councillors signed a letter addressed to the Archbishop censuring him for his vigorous measures to produce conformity. But this did not daunt him. He feared not to withstand the Earl of Leicester, that great spoiler of the Church, when in the zenith of his influence, and he scrupled not to speak to the Queen those noble words: "Madam, give me leave to do my duty and tell you that princes are deputed nursing fathers of the Church, and owe it a protection; and therefore, as you are by a late Act of Parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the Church's lands, yet dispose of them for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to

* "Qui crimen gravi mulctâ in camerâ stellatâ erogatâ luissent, nisi Archiepiscopus Cantuarensis quâ fuit ille lenitate, reginam ægrè exorasset."—*Camdenus*, sub anno 1588.

Chap. I.

men, and vowed to God. Let neither falsehood or flattery beguile you to do otherwise."*

It is scarcely too much to say that to Whitgift we owe the preservation of our Church endowments. That the whole of them were seriously imperilled we may well believe when we reflect on how much the Queen actually sanctioned, and on the utterly unscrupulous character of some of her courtiers, who even openly avowed their desire of bringing the Church to poverty that they might repress and destroy its influence. Elizabeth had precedent enough in the wholesale confiscations of her father; but Whitgift did not hesitate to warn her from following his sad example: "And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice that a part of the Church's rights added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them. And consider that after the violation of those laws to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did deny him His restraining grace, that as King Saul after he was forsaken of God fell from one sin to another,

* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 488.

Archbishop Grindal in the matter of the Prophesyings was equally bold but not equally successful. He wrote to the Queen requesting her "That when your Majesty deals in matters of religion, you would not pronounce so peremptorily as you may do in Civil Matters, but remember that in God's cause His will, and not the will of any earthly creature is to take place. 'Tis the Antichristian motto of the Pope, 'Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.'"—Neal's *Puritans*, i., 283.

so he; till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention."* Chap. I.

Poverty of the parochial clergy.

It was high time indeed that some one should speak plainly to the arbitrary Queen. The revenues of the parochial clergy had so greviously fallen off by the seizure of the impropriations by the crown, that the ministers were impoverished to an almost incredible extent. They were driven to become tailors or shoemakers, or to do anything else which would find them a morsel of bread.† The stern Queen's remedy was to forbid them matrimony, or at any rate to throw every difficulty in the way. No priest or deacon was to marry without the consent of the bishop, and two justices of peace for the county, nor without the consent of the parents or relatives of the woman, or of the master or mistress with whom she was at service.‡ Perhaps a more fitting remedy would have been to have caused her courtiers to disgorge some of their spoils.§ This penury continued to prey upon the

* Walton's *Life of Hooker*. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 488.

† Short's, *Church History*, § 410, 430.

‡ Strype quoted by Short, § 406. Note.

§ "Elizabeth restored the Reformation it is true, but in many places left little provision to maintain it. She drew back the patrimony of the Church restored by her sister Mary, and reached somewhat unkindly into the remainder. The one made martyrs in the church, the other beggars. The one executed the men and the other the estates. And therefore reserving the honour of the Reformation to Queen Elizabeth, the question will be, whether the resuming the first-fruits and tenths, putting many of the vicarages in this deplorable condition, and settling a perpetuity of poverty on the Church, was not much more prejudicial than fire and fagot?"—Collier, B. vii., *ap. fin.*

Chap. I. parochial clergy. The excellent and learned Joseph Hall, when he was Parson of Halsted, in that "sweet and civil county of Suffolk," could not succeed in obtaining from his patron (as he calls him) Sir Robert Drury, "that parcel of his due maintenance which was kept back from his not over-deserving predecessor."* Consequently he was at last obliged to abandon his cure. Afterwards when promoted to a prebend at Wolverhampton, a similar difficulty stood in his way. The revenues of this "goodly Church consisting of a dean and eight prebendaries completely endowed," had been granted in perpetual *fee-farm*, that is to say, commuted for some small annual payment to be made by one Sir Walter Leveson. As manifest and gross fraud was discovered to have been used in this case, Hall and a brother prebendary who joined with him in the suit, succeeded in obtaining a verdict "after many years;" but this only involved them in fresh difficulties, and at length the matter appears to have ended in a sort of composition, Hall resigning the prebend to a Mr. Lee, "who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that long neglected people." It was this scandalous robbery of Church funds which reduced the clergy in so many instances to be hangers on to great houses, and dependents on "worshipful patrons," to the great peril of their independence of character.†

* Hall's *Autobiography*. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 273.

† "Shall we trust them (the clergy) in some goodly gentleman's house, there to perform holy things? With all my heart, so that

Church dragged into persecution by the State.

The State was not altogether therefore the devout protector of the Church in its temporal interests, nor was its policy always of a character most suited to advance the growth of its religious life. Elizabeth dragged it with her in her arbitrary and blood-stained career, and made it partaker to some extent in the guilt of her violence and tyranny. But by far the principal part of the guilt of the oppressions of that time belonged to the Queen. Of her three archbishops, Parker was compelled to a greater strictness than he desired by her unflinching severity;* Grindal experienced

they be not called down from their studies, to say grace to every health; that they may have a little better wages than the cook or butler, as also that there be a groom in the house besides the chaplain (for sometimes to the ten pounds a year, they crowd the looking after a couple of geldings); and that he may not be sent from table, picking his teeth and sighing, with his hat under his arm, whilst the knight and my lady eat up the tarts and chickens. It may be also convenient if he were suffered to speak now and then in the parlour, besides at grace and prayer time; and that my cousin Abigail and he sit not too near one another at meals, nor be presented together to the little vicarage. All this, sir, must be thought of, for in good earnest a person at all thoughtful of himself and conscience, had much better choose to live with nothing but beans and peas-pottage (so that he may have the command of his own thoughts and time) than to have his second and third courses, and to obey the unreasonable humours of some families."—*Causes of Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 17.

Thus too it is said in the Life of Peter Heylin: "After the manner of great men's chaplains, who fill their bellies with the first course, and then rise up and wait for the coming in of the second." Laud endeavoured to abate this servile dependence of the clergy by the Injunctions, published 1629, which forbad any under the condition of barons, to keep chaplains in their houses.

* In 1573, the Queen was very indignant with the bishops for not proceeding against the Puritans with sufficient strictness. "The Lord Treasurer also made a long speech before the Commissioners in the Star Chamber, in which by the Queen's order

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her arbitrary rigour for his lenity; and Whitgift, only by a rare union of tact and resolution, was able to palliate to some extent the severity of her rule. Much, probably, may be urged with truth in defence of Elizabeth's unhesitating extermination of the Jesuit and seminary priests. She was exposed to great dangers. The Catholic powers of Europe sought to gain a party among her subjects, that they might the more readily attack her. She was excommunicated and denounced by the Pope, and every priest who came into the country to act for him, came in effect to act as a rebel against the Queen. This may excuse many of the merciless executions of the recusants, and of the bitter persecuting laws passed against them, for which indeed the Church is in no way specially responsible.

Of the Puritans and their treatment we shall speak hereafter, but before we pass to them, we must point to what we consider to be the principal blot and stigma on the Queen's administration, a stigma from which the Church is unhappily not free. It is too much the fashion in these days to defend the persecution and intolerance of those times on the ground that nobody then understood toleration. On the same principle we might apologise for any crime, provided it were generally prevalent. The fundamentals of morality, the precepts of the New Testament were the same then

But in some points deserving blame.

he charged the bishops with neglect in not enforcing her Majesty's Proclamation; he said the Queen could not satisfy her conscience without crushing the Puritans."—Neal's *Puritans*, i., 240.

as now. It needed not to constitute a crime that it should be exceptional, neither is it possible to prove that the Christians of that day were involved in a helpless and therefore excusable ignorance. Much indeed may be forgiven to the heats of party strife, just as in war deeds are allowed which are not tolerable in time of peace, but before all things, let us call things by their right names, and not gloze over the cruelties of the sixteenth century, whether done by Protestant or Papist, as the necessary conditions of their rudimental and uneducated state—to be pitied rather than condemned. It may be possible to palliate the executions of the Jesuits on the ground of dangerous treason, but to burn poor Dutch Anabaptists at Smithfield for their silly ravings, or Matthew Hamant, "a poor plowwright of Featherset, within three miles of Norwich,"* these are crimes disgraceful alike to Queen and bishops. Would that it could be alleged with truth on the part of the great divines of the Reformation, that they had done nothing more than commit to prison some of the refractory Puritan leaders; would that the somewhat rude and violent treatment resorted to against men of position and mark were all their fault. This might

Horrible treatment of the fanatics.

* Heylin, *Hist. Presbyterians*. It is painful to find the acute and learned R. Crakanthorp defending, and even glorying in this butchery. "Hamontus quidam insolenti amentiâ Christo et Evangelio maledicebat, Christum Deum esse negabat. Norwici in cineres exustus justissimas et acerbissimas suæ blasphemiæ pœnas luit. Similes pœne blasphemias triennio post id evomere cœpit Joannes Lewisius, pari supplicii genere Norwici quoque ille exustus est."—Crakanthorpii *Defensio Eccl. Ang.*, p. 191. Oxford Edition.

Chap. I. easily be pardoned. It was provoked, many might say justified. But there is something much graver than this. There is discernible a disposition to fall with excessive ferocity upon helpless ignorant victims—men who had not a Calvin or a Beza at their back—men to whose execution even the Puritan would consent with a grim complacency. The wild ravings of Anabaptists and Familists were deliberately treated as crimes, and assailed with torture and death. After the passing of the Act to make attendance at church compulsory, the prisons were full of fanciful Brownists and Barrowites, the persecution of whom is quite another thing from the rigorous measures taken against the Puritan clergy. These were poor men who had separated themselves from the Church, and did not obstinately cling to it and strive to bend it to their own views. All they desired was liberty for their own way of worship, and it was mere cruel persecution to imprison and condemn them. This indeed was the doing of the Parliament and the Queen, and not of the bishops; still these latter are in a measure responsible, as an influential part of the governing body which was guilty of such excesses.

The Papists under Queen Mary inherited an abominable system, the Protestant authorities under Elizabeth constructed one, and in so far are worse than their predecessors. There does not appear to have existed either fear, compunction, or shame in their treatment of the fanatics. It is noted as a singular thing of John Foxe, the martyrologist (and it redounds to his everlasting honour), that he

urgently petitioned the Queen to spare some Anabaptists condemned to be burnt at Smithfield. But where were the other remonstrants? Where was the clergy of a great Christian nation? Where was the popular outbreak on behalf of the poor murdered victims? Did the people stand by and look on complacently, and perhaps joke and laugh while the unhappy Dutchmen "died with very great horror, exprest by many roarings and cryings"?*

Guilt of the Queen.

It is impossible to defend Elizabeth on the plea of conscience, which may be advanced in favour of Mary. Mary was a consistent fanatic, Elizabeth was not. At the very same time that she was persecuting the Puritans in England, she was supporting the professors of the same opinions by her influence, money, and arms in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries.† Neither was equal justice dealt out in England itself. If any of the wild enthusiasts who sprung up in those troublous times deserved punishment, it was Brown, the founder of a new sect, holding the most extravagant and insane opinions. Yet because Brown was a kinsman of Lord Burleigh, he was excused and afterwards promoted, while two wretched followers of his, for the offence of selling his books were seized and hanged.‡

* Heylin, *Hist. Presbyterians.*

† "The Queen supported them (Protestants of France and Holland) in their religious wars against their natural kings. The foreign Popish princes reproached her for it, and her Majesty's ministers had much ado to reconcile it with the court doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 197.

‡ Fuller, ix., 3—7.

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Arbitrariness of her rule.

Justice, in fact, in the days of Elizabeth, was a mere pretence. The Queen's pleasure was omnipotent. It ruled the courts of law, it browbeat and tyrannized over Parliament, bidding the representatives of the nation "not to pass beyond their bounds, to leave all matters of state to herself and her Council, and all matters which concerned the Church to herself and her bishops." Enough has perhaps been said to show that the protection of the state was not an unmixed good to the Church of the Reformation, constraining it as it did to sully its purity with persecution and blood. It is a happiness to be able to think that in this course it was rather driven than led the way, that there was no vindictive retaliation for the horrible cruelties of the Marian persecution; that for seventeen years the statute *de hereticis comburendis* was in abeyance; and that the latter part of the century was brightened by the milder policy of Whitgift.

The Church affected by it.

The great advantage to the Church of the reign of Edward VI.

Still, from the temper of the times we are able to estimate the exceeding greatness of the blessing which the short reign of Edward VI. was to the English Church. It was in that time of political weakness and confusion that its distinctive character was first given to our ritual and theology. The more aggressive times of Elizabeth, when men were fresh from the late horrors, would perhaps have inaugurated the work differently. Happily, however, there were the mild precedents of the previous Reformation to fall back upon, and the work of the first Reformers came hallowed and sanctified by their martyrdom.

From quite another point of view we may raise the question whether the strong conservative element in the English Reformation were without its drawbacks. To it we owe the sad but undeniable fact that the uneducated classes have never heartily embraced and lovingly cherished the mild and temperate spirituality of the Established Church. They unlearnt the extravagance of the Roman superstition only to throw themselves readily into the arms of the scarcely less unreasonable Puritans; and under one name or another, in varying forms but similar spirit, there has existed from the days of the Reformers to our own a popular antagonistic feeling to the Church of the Reformation. Upheld as it has ever been by the intelligence and respectability, the wealth and influence of the country; acceptable and blessed as it has ever proved itself to the more sober-minded and humble-spirited of the labouring classes; it has failed to commend itself to those who deem excitement a necessary part of religion, and place the seat of their piety in the feelings rather than in the daily life. This is perhaps unavoidable consistently with the maintenance of sound doctrine and truly devout worship, but it is still a thing to be deplored; and it does not dispose us to regard with extra complacency those who widened the breach which they might have done so much to close up—those Puritan leaders, who often for their own selfish ends, strove to lead away the people from the Church; and at length succeeded for a time, by the aid of their

Chap. I. misguided followers, in persecuting and overthrowing it.

The Puritans In the present day when greater candour and less passion are able to prevail in our views of the old religious disputes, none will perhaps be found to endorse unreservedly the bitter invectives of Peter Heylin against the Puritans. It is palpably evident that his history of the Presbyterians was written with as strong a spirit of partisanship on one side, as Neal's book was on the other. Yet taking as indulgent a view as we can of the Puritans of Queen Elizabeth's time, it cannot be denied that they are eminently provoking. That sober and pious men should think themselves justified in convulsing, worrying, and distracting the young Church, struggling towards maturity and strength amidst the greatest obstacles, on the miserable questions of Church vestments, or the insignificant matter of the use of the cross in baptism, seems to show a sufficiently bitter and litigious spirit,* and with this, in fact, the Puritan clergy are justly chargeable. They fought factiously and they fought unfairly. They were most loud and troublesome when there was the greatest danger from the Papist and the Spaniard,† and they suddenly assumed a quieter

* "These times present us most melancholy illustrations of the evils arising from factious disputes concerning trifles; for trifles the things in dispute were, and very few of the Puritans at that time charged them as sinful."—Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, 42.

† This is a grave charge, but made on the faith of a grave writer. "Ut externo bello sic etiam interno schismate hoc tempore laboravit Anglia (schismatica enim pravitas semper bello ardente maxime luxuriat); nec certe contumax in Ecclesiasticos

tone when the power of the foreign foe was broken. Backed by the connivance of Walsingham and Burleigh, and the open favour of Leicester, who panted for more Church lands, they could hold their heads aloft; but when Walsingham and Leicester were dead, their chiefs considerably altered their tone. Doubtless a telling case may be made out by dwelling on the virtues of the non-conformists, and magnifying the severities of the bishops; but the real point at issue was not a question of conscience, but whether the Puritans should be suffered to hold preferment in the Church in open defiance of the requirements of the law. Such a notion would not for a moment be tolerated in the present day. A clergyman declining to conform, would, as a matter of course, himself retire from the ministry of the Church; but the Puritan clergy, backed by their great friends at court, tried hard to retain their livings on their own terms. The course taken by the section which separated,* is perhaps to be deplored, but hardly to be blamed; the sturdy obstinacy of those who remained without conforming, required and excused the severity of Whitgift. Chap. I.

Of matters of dispute some are too trivial to

Magistratus impudentia, et contumeliosa improbitas insolentius alias se exeruit."—Camden.

* In 1566, the deprived ministers of London came to this agreement:—"Since they could not have the Word of God preached, nor the Sacraments administered without idolatrous gear (as they called it) it was their duty in their present circumstances to break off from the public churches, and to assemble as they had opportunity in private houses to worship God."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 181. See Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 100.

Chap. I. command our sympathy—opposition becomes contentiousness—scrupulous hesitation blameable imbecility. It might be a fair subject of argument whether the Presbyterian form of Church government were superior to the Episcopal, but to quarrel about the cap and surplice was unworthy of learned men. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, as strict a purist as any of them, could so far overcome his scruples as to preach before King Edward in "a long scarlet chimere, reaching down to his feet." Yet Humphreys, Sampson, and Cartwright would sacrifice all, rather than wear the surplice.* It is true that the dispute soon changed ground, and from outsides touched fundamentals, but for that very reason its trivial beginning is the more to be condemned. When men begin quarrelling, they gladly welcome fresh subjects of dispute, and topics on which they might previously have agreed are now treated with the bitter spirit of the partisan. Nothing is more plain than that this was the case with respect to the question of Church government, which became the great controversy between the Church and the Puritans. At first, the Puritan party objected to some of the accidentals

* As a specimen of the extraordinary wrongheadedness of these men take the following: Sampson and Humphreys being pressed by Archbishop Parker for their reasons for refusing conformity, contend against the archbishop among others, on this ground:—"We ought not to give offence in matters of mere indifference, *therefore* (not, we ought to conform, but) the bishops ought not to enforce the habits."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 163.

It is instructive to note Bullinger's character of Sampson:—"The man is never satisfied. He has always some doubt or other to busy himself with."—*Zurich Letters*, Parker Society.

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of bishops, their state, jurisdiction, &c. Gradually they got to condemn the office as utterly against the Scriptures. "They first desired only to shake down the leaves of Episcopacy," says Fuller, "misliking only some garments about them; then they came to strike at the branches, and last of all they did lay their axe to the root of the tree."

Change in the ground of controversy between them and the Church.

This was the course also which the argument took on the Church side. The Church theologians gradually changed their ground, so that there is a wide difference between the school of Whitgift and Hooker, and that of Bilson, Hall and Laud. At first all that was contended for was that Episcopacy was permissible and not against the Scriptures, that it was a Church government ancient and allowable. This was contended by Jewel, Whitgift, Cooper and others; but these divines did not venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the sacraments.* The first broaching of this doctrine in England is apparently due to Saravia, a Spanish divine from the Low Countries, who published a treatise on the ministry about 1590.† The learned Hooker, in spite of the attempts of his excellent editor to saddle him with the doctrine, by implication, cannot be shown to have asserted that Episcopacy was

Beginning of the assertion of Episcopacy by Divine right.

* See Keble's Preface to Hooker, p. 59.

† The first public setting forth of the doctrine was two years before this. Dr. Bancroft in a sermon at Paul's Cross, A. D. 1588, asserted it, but it is supposed, apparently on good ground, that Saravia must have taught the doctrine in England, *privately*, some time before this.—See Keble's Preface to Hooker.

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indispensable to a Church, or that without the Apostolical succession there was no Sacramental grace. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, whose treatise on Church government was published about the same time as Hooker's, both claims the Apostolic authority for bishops,* and also denies the possibility of there being a true Church without them. This doctrine we may suppose to have generally obtained in the Church at the time of the accession of James. Side by side with it was the similar claim of the Presbyterian, that "their discipline is as essential to the true being of the Church as either the preaching of the Word or the administration of the holy sacraments."† It is evident, that thus was created a complete opposition between the two parties.‡ For those who held that bishops were against Scripture, and those who maintained that they were fundamentally necessary for any gift of grace, there was scarce any common ground.

Opinions on the Predestinarian doctrines.

The two parties were slower in arriving at a distinct opposition in their theology than in their theories of Church government. The framing of, and, to a certain extent, enforcing the Lambeth articles, shows us that the divines of the latter days

* "The authority of their first calling liveth yet in their successors."—Bilson quoted by Keble. Preface to Hooker's *Eccl. Pol.*

† Travers quoted by Heylin, *Hist. Presbyterians.*

‡ "Now, if Rebecca found herself strangely affected when twins struggled in her womb, the condition of the English Church must be conceived sad, which at the same time had two disciplines, both of them pleading Scripture and Primitive practice, each striving to support itself and suppress its rival."—Fuller, ix., 2, 2.

of Elizabeth were still much under the influence of the bold speculations of Calvin. The great foreign theologians, and especially Calvin, were men of a more powerful cast of mind than the English fathers of the Reformation; and hence the spell of their genius exercised a fascination, which sober judgments ought to have better resisted and withstood. Meaner teachers of antinomianism would have been summarily suppressed, but Calvin, who, with a bolder flight, ventured even to impeach the righteousness of the Most High, was accepted with a trembling acquiescence. His system, complete and perfect as it appeared in all its parts; accounting, as it did, for all difficulties by a daring dogmatizing on matters lying far out of the province of the human understanding, challenged and obtained a profound and deferential homage. The Calvinistic theology, however, was not a plant suited for English growth. Soon it began to dwindle and fade before the broad scriptural views of the writers of the seventeenth century. Yet it needed some years before a clergyman of the Anglican Church could be found to pen those noble words, "I am not, nor would be accounted willingly, Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran, but a Christian. For my faith was never taught me by the doctrine of men. I am not baptized into the belief, nor assumed by grace into the family of any of them, or of the pope. I will not pin my belief unto any man's sleeve, carry he his head ever so high, not unto St. Augustin or any ancient father, *nedum* unto men of lower rank. A Christian I am and so

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glory to be, only denominated of Christ Jesus my Lord and Master, by whom I never was yet so wronged that I would relinquish willingly that royal title, and exchange it for that of his menial servants. And further yet I do confess that I see no reason why any member of the Church of England, a Church every way so transcendent unto that of Leyden and Geneva, should lowt so low as to denominate himself of any the most excellent among them."* At the beginning of the reign of James it is probable that the tenets of Calvin as to the absolute decrees of God were the popular theology, though not heartily acquiesced in by some of the more learned divines; while, on the subject of the Eucharist, the Church of England held exactly neither with the Reformed nor Lutheran Churches, but had a theology of its own.

Doctrine on the Eucharist

On this important subject there are four principal views which have enlisted large bodies of Christians as their supporters. The first is the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It was held by the Romanist

* Montague, *Appello Cæsarem*. In much the same spirit writes the learned Richard Crakanthorp. "Calvini scripta et Lutheri sic accepimus quomodo olim Cypriani litteras Augustinus nos non sic Luthero aut Calvino addicti, Lutherani aut Calvinistæ nec sumus, nec nisi per injuriam vocamar. Nos a Christo qui nobis fundamentum est et caput fidei, *Christiani*, quia fidem quæ verè catholica est, protestamur et amplectimur, *Catholici*."—Crakanthorpii *Def. Eccl. Ang.*, p. 189, Oxf. ed. And Sir T. Browne—"I condemn not all things in the Council of Trent, nor approve all in the Synod of Dost. In brief, where the Scripture is silent the Church is my test; where that speaks 'tis but my comment; where is a joint silence of both I borrow not my religion from Rome or Geneva, but from the dictates of my own reason."—*Religio Medici*, ii., 6.

of the sixteenth century as it is by the Romanist of the nineteenth, that in the Eucharist, after Consecration spoken, there remain only the *accidents* of bread and wine, such as appearance, taste, smell, &c.; the *substance* is the human body of Jesus Christ, which was once crucified on the Cross. This doctrine the Church of England, since the Reformation, has never favoured. (2.) The doctrine of the Reformed Church, as taught first by Zuinglius, but considerably modified afterwards by Calvin, goes to the extreme most removed from this. "The Swiss Reformer looked upon the bread and wine in no other light than as the signs and symbols of the absent body and blood of Christ."* This doctrine also has never found favour with the English Church, and is specially pointed at and condemned in our Articles. "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign, &c., but to them who rightly receive the same, the *bread which we break* is a partaking of the body of Christ," &c.† (3.) The third doctrine is that of Luther—commonly called Consubstantiation, and thus defined by Mosheim: "Luther maintained that the body and blood of Christ were *really*, though in a manner far beyond human comprehension, *present in the Eucharist*, and were exhibited together with the bread and wine."‡ This fanciful view is condemned by Hooker with his accustomed wisdom and depth.

* Mosheim, *Cent. XVI.*, chap. ii., 5. See Lathbury's *Hist. Prayer Book*, p. 49.

† Article XXVIII.

‡ Mosheim, u. s.

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"The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament. If on all sides it is confessed that the grace of baptism is poured into the soul of man, that by water we receive it, although it be neither seated in the water nor the water changed into it, what should induce men to think that the grace of the Eucharist must needs be in the Eucharist before it can be in us that receive it?"* (4.) This naturally brings us to the fourth doctrine on the subject, the doctrine of the *real spiritual presence*, the presence in the faithful receiver, not in the elements—the distinctive teaching of the Church of England and the glory of her theology.† As this doctrine is clearly set forth both in the Articles made under Elizabeth, and the Catechism under James, as it is defended by Hooker in his great work, we may assume it to have been the generally accepted view of the Eucharist in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It seems to have been more with respect to some special points connected with the administration of the holy rite, the kneeling posture, the use of private communions, &c., that the Puritans differed from the Church than as to the doctrine of the Sacrament itself.

Of the observance of the Lord's Day.

There is another point which, in taking a rapid glance at the state of religious opinion at the begin-

* Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, b. v., c. 67.

† "A real spiritual presence is held by the Church of England in opposition to the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation on one hand, and the Zuinglian notion of a mere memorial on the other." —Lathbury, *Hist. Prayer Book*, p. 53.

ning of the seventeenth century, we must not wholly pass by. Afterwards it became a fruitful source of contention between the Church and the Nonconformists. This is the question of the amount of observance due to the Lord's Day. The controversy appears to have been first started in print by Dr. Bound, a Puritan writer, towards the end of the century, who is said by Heylin to have written his book by way of indirectly disparaging and condemning the other festival days used by the Church.* The earlier foreign reformers claimed for the Church a complete authority in the matter of the observance of the Lord's Day; debated whether they should change the weekly festival to Thursday, and asserted that it was within the power of the Church to appoint either one day in six or one in eight. Thus, too, Tindal in England. "As for the Sabbath," he says, "a great matter! We be lords over the Sabbath, and may yet change it into the Monday or any other day, as we see need, or may make every tenth day holy only if we see a cause why." † These views, however, were soon abandoned by the party which looked with especial reverence to the foreign theologians. A Judaical strictness of observance began

* Heylin, *Presbyterians*, book x., sec. 1. Fuller, *Church History*, book ix. See Disraeli's *Charles I.*, ii., 17 sq. The work, published in 1595, was suppressed and called in, but continued to be read in MS. An enlarged edition was published in 1606. For some time, Fuller says, "Not so much as the feather of a quill in print did wag against it."

† Tindal, quoted by Heylin. See Bramhall's Works, v., 10, notes. Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, 1860.

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to be taught by the Puritan writers. They maintained "that to do any servile work on the Lord's Day was as great a sin as to kill a man or commit adultery. That to throw a bowl on the Lord's Day* was as great a sin as to kill a man. That to ring more bells than one on the Lord's Day was as great a sin as to commit a murder."† &c. Doubtless, the publication of these extreme doctrines excited, as is usually the case, a corresponding extravagance on the other side; and the putting forth the Edicts for Sports, &c., upon the great Christian festival, was at any rate an impolitic and dangerous act.

The state kept by the bishops.

There were other points, not strictly theological, on which there was fierce war between the Puritans and the bishops. These were, principally, the administration of law in the bishops' courts and the harsh proceedings often taken there, and the great state and retinue affected by their lordships. With regard to the latter point, we may admit that the Puritanical party had somewhat to cavil at, when we read the account of the state kept by the Archbishop of Canterbury at this period, as related by a favourable biographer: "He kept, for the exercise of military discipline, a good armoury and

* Yet John Knox going to visit Calvin at Geneva, on Sunday, found him playing at bowls.

† Heylin's *Presbyterians*, book x., sec. 2. "Puritanic persons deprived the populace of their accustomed festivals and pastimes on the Sunday afternoons after Divine service; festivals and pastimes are the poor man's inheritance, his unbought enjoyment, the leisure of his servitude, the common solace of the ancient friendships of the village."—Disraeli's *Charles I.*, ii., 19.

a fair stable of great horses, insomuch as he was able to arm at all points both horse and foot, and divers times had one hundred foot and fifty horse of his own servants mustered and trained; for which purpose he entertained captains. He had a desire always to keep a great and bountiful house, and so he did. Upon some festival days he was served with great solemnity, sometime upon the knee; as well for upholding the state which belonged unto his place, as for the better education and practice of his gentlemen and attendants in point of service. Every year he entertained the Queen at one of his houses, as long as he was an Archbishop; and sometimes twice or thrice. Every third year he went into Kent, where he was so honourably attended upon by his own train (consisting of two hundred persons), that he did sometimes ride into the City of Canterbury and into other towns with eight hundred or a thousand horse."* It must be borne in mind that all this state was accompanied by very liberal and systematic alms-giving, and a hearty encouragement of learned scholars and divines. Yet the notion of a bishop clattering into his cathedral city at the head of a thousand horse, must have been rather a difficult one for the Puritanical mind to acquiesce in.†

* Sir G. Paul's *Life of Whitgift*. Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 608. See Howes's *Chronicle*, 819—822.

† Thus, in 1574, Sampson writes to remonstrate with Grindal, Archbishop of York, on "His port, his train of waiting men in the streets, his gentlemen-ushers going before him with bare heads, and his family full of idle serving men, looking very lordly."—Neal's *Puritans*, i., 263.

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We can forgive this to Whitgift, however, far better than we can his condescending to swell the chorus of gross adulation with which the bishops greeted James I., and raised that vain and pedantic monarch to the utmost pinnacle of self-conceit. Doubtless, the thorough partisan spirit, which a Prince coming out of Presbyterian Scotland displayed on their side, must have been very intoxicating to them, but Whitgift, who had so boldly reproved the domineering and unscrupulous Elizabeth, need not have been the one to join with the outrageous sycophancy of Bancroft, in declaring that "undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit."* This is indeed the most appalling feature of the times. We are led to ask what could have been the Christian sincerity of those men who could address their King in the grossest terms of the most fulsome flattery?† The translators of the Bible were the picked divines of England, but even they could agree to prefix to their sacred work a dedication, in which they speak of the coming of James as of "the rising of the sun in his strength;" calling him "that sanctified person whose zeal manifests itself abroad in the furthest parts of Christendom, by writing in defence of the truth (which hath given such a blow to that man of sin as shall not be

* Barlow's *Sum of Hampton Court Conference.*

† "While hungry writers flattered him out of all measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness."—Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 8, edition 1838.

healed), and every day at home by religious and learned discourse." * Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, was a leading man in the Church and a learned writer. Hear how he addresses a man, who, if history is to be believed, was anything but a paragon of virtue: "You are endued with an admirable genius, an incredible memory, an excellent and most exquisite judgment. I need not dwell upon the nobleness of your royal descent, nor your remarkable facility and readiness of speech. I may pass over your affability, your good temper, your temperance, patience, mildness, mercy, goodness, beneficence, skill, wisdom, and all the other gifts most worthy a Christian Prince, which every one can see plainly in your sacred Majesty. Be it rather my task, as a *bishop*, to make mention of your sincere profession of piety, your erudite defence of the truth both by word and writings, your anxious care for preserving the peace of the Church duties, by the frequent and willing performance of which, you pay a service most pleasing to God, and have acquired an everlasting glory for your name." † Thus, too, another Bishop of Winchester (Montague): "His Majesty, whom God hath adorned with as many rare perfections of nature and art as He ever did any that we read of," &c. (Preface to King James's Works—a piece of elaborate, and sometimes rather profane, adulation.) And Field, Dean of Gloucester: "A

* Dedication to authorized version.

† Bilson's Epistle Dedicatory to his *Treatise on Church Government*, published 1611. (Trans.)

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King of a religious, virtuous, and peaceable disposition; to whom He hath given a wise and understanding heart, large as the sands on the seashore; whose delight is in the law of the Lord; whose constant resolutions in matter of religion, daunteth the enemies of it; whose admirable understanding in things Divine, giveth us good assurance that no frauds shall be able to mislead him," &c. (Field's Preface.) Well might Ben Jonson write:

> "All my flatterers
> Shall be the pure and gravest of divines,
> That I can get for money."
>
> *Alchemist.*

Court of High Commission.

The sycophancy of the bishops to the Crown naturally led them to severity towards Dissidents and Nonconformists. The supremacy in ecclesiastical causes was not then clearly distinguished from the civil prerogative, and a Puritan who scrupled about Church vestments was regarded in the light of a traitor against the King. The instrument for enforcing conformity, which was put into the hands of the bishops, was the Court of High Commission. This Court was supposed to have the King's supremacy delegated to it, and to exercise it for the good of the Church. It contained, besides the bishops and priory counsellors, many divines of lower standing in the Church; and branches of it, with all its powers, were granted out to separate dioceses, when it was considered that extraordinary means were required. The great instrument by which this Court worked was the

power of forcing any one suspected of nonconformity to the taking an oath to clear himself, which oath might relate to intentions as well as acts, things past and condoned, as well as present views, and determinations for the future. We need not waste words to show the tyranny which was thus made possible. Even at the Hampton Court Conference, where sycophancy and acquiescence were so strikingly the order of the day, there was a lord found to say "That the proceeding thereby was like unto the Spanish Inquisition, wherein men were urged to subscribe more than the law required; that by the oath *ex officio* they were forced to accuse themselves; that they were examined upon twenty or twenty-four articles upon the sudden, without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves." * It is true

* Barlow's *Hampton Court Conference.* This celebrated Court is well sketched by Mr. Masson: "This Court, established 1 Elizabeth, consisted of some forty persons, of whom twelve were bishops; and it had the same authority in purely ecclesiastical causes that the Star Chamber had in civil. It was empowered "To visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, which by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever might be lawfully ordered or corrected;" and it was a Court of last appeal from all inferior ecclesiastical courts, and, consequently, from all the bishops individually. It might use in its proceedings not only juries, witnesses, and other ordinary means, but also means not used in other courts, such as interrogations and imprisonment of the accused, spies, rumour, &c. In the reign of James the censures were generally excommunication, deprivation from the ministry, and the like; but under Charles they became much heavier. "The bishop," says Clarendon, "grew to have so great a contempt of the common law and of the professors of it, that prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, which have and must have the superintendency

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that Archbishop Whitgift replied to this, "That if any article did touch the party any way, for life, liberty, or scandal, he might refuse to answer." But even granting this, it does not appear that a man was excused from being obliged to criminate himself on points which emperilled his benefice, his position in life, his means of support for himself and his family. Certainly this was a fearful engine for tyranny to put into the hands of any body of men.

Difficulties of all parties.

But if we can find neither queen, bishops, nor Puritans free of blame, we must not forget the difficulties of their respective positions. It is absurd, and worse than absurd, to write senseless one-sided panegyrics, to gloze over manifest injustice, to call things by their wrong names, and to invest pragmatical obstinacy with the dignity of martyrdom. But the fair spirit of critical inquiry will not allow us to shut our eyes to the fact, that all parties were advancing in new and untrodden fields, without precedent and the wisdom of experience. The Queen had to fight the battle of Protestantism in Europe, and before all things it was necessary that she should be paramount at home. The bishops had to steer the bark of the Church as best they could, between the haughty imperious will of the sovereign on one side, and the unflinching and dogged resistance of the Puritans on the other. The Puritans had got it into their heads that compliance with the ceremonial

over all inferior courts, were not only neglected, but the judges reprehended for granting them."—*Life of Milton*, i., 356.

was a sin, and hence their puerile resistance assumed in their eyes the dignity of a conscientious struggle. Thus all things were complicated and involved, until at last, in utter hopelessness, all parties ceased their strife, and waited for what the new reign would bring forth. The Puritans had fond hopes that a king brought up in Presbyterian Scotland, educated by George Buchanan, and accustomed to live under the Genevan discipline, would be favourable to their views. Perhaps, also, they remembered a certain letter written by King James in the year 1591, to the Queen of England, interceding for Cartwright and Udal, "requesting you most earnestly that for our cause and intercession it may please you to let them be relieved of their present strait, respecting both their former merit in setting forth the Evangel, the simplicity of their conscience in this defence, and the great slander which would not fail to fall out upon their further straitning for any such occasion."*

Puritan expectations from James.

In trusting, however, to the supposed Puritanical predilections of King James, they strangely deceived themselves. Every incident of his life, every peculiarity of his disposition, inclined him to hate the Puritans, and hate them he did most

His real views of the Puritans.

* Besides this, in his Preface to the *Basilicon Doron*, he had thus expressed himself, "I mean it not (*i. e.*, to write sharply) generally of all Preachers or others that like better of the single form of policy in our Church than of the many ceremonies in the Church of England; that are persuaded that their Bishops smell of a Papal supremacy, that the surplice, the cornered cap and such like are the outward badges of popish errors—no, I am far from being contentious in these things." But when he wrote this he was still within reach of the long tongues of the ministers.

Chap. I. thoroughly. They had persecuted and deposed his mother; vexed, worried, and thwarted himself; resisted and humbled his authority; forced him to dismiss his favourites, to miscarry in his pet scheme of introducing episcopacy, and to look small in the eyes of foreign nations. When he would have a feast to do honour to the French ambassadors, they would have a fast, and they prevailed. Such a habit had their ministers got into of lecturing him to his face, that "for the last twelve years of his life in Scotland he used to pray on his knees before sermon, that he might hear nothing that might justly grieve him."* A vain man, he was rudely treated, a pedant, he was schooled, a timid man, he was terrified by these "beardless boys," who had at their back the rough barons and wild people of Scotland, with their frantic hatred of Popery, and their readiness to strike in behalf of the word with the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. At Ruthven his "Sacred Majesty" had been polluted by a traitorous seizure by the Puritanical lords, and if the later conspiracy of the Gowries was not the creature of his timid imagination, or politic invention,† the same faction

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*.

† "Whether the Gowries attempted on the King's person or the King on theirs, is variously reported."—Wilson's *Hist. of James I.*, 14. "It was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of that conspiracy; for, eight years before, King James, in a secret jealousy of the Earl of Murray, then esteemed the handsomest man in Scotland, set on the Marquis of Huntly, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him.....And this made the matter of Gowry to be less believed."—Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 10. See Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 19.

had succeeded in placing his life in deadly peril. It is gravely asserted that so great were the troubles to which the King was subject in Scotland, that he had been many times on the point of quitting his throne, and passing as a private gentleman into the Seigniory of Venice.* He was induced to forego this purpose, however, probably by the pleasing prospect of the English throne looming in the distance; a throne which should effectually deliver him from the persecutions of his old enemies, the Presbyterians, and introduce him to the soft speeches of courtly bishops, instead of the rough lectures of the wild preachers of the hills and moors of Scotland. Certainly the Puritan party in England had not much to hope from him. Chap. I.

The character of the King, his tone of mind and views on Church matters,† are especially important to the Church history of the period. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that he gave a colour to the theology of the time. Church writers took their cue from him, composed in his style, and paid especial attention to the opinions which he favoured. It belongs to our subject, therefore, to take a review of the writings of King James. They furnish us with the best index to his mind and character, and demand our careful consideration. Importance of the character of the King.

At twenty years old he wrote a Paraphrase, or

* Heylin's *Hist. Presbyterians.*

† In estimating his religious views, we ought not to forget that Sir Francis Walsingham, who had studied him much, and kept spies about him during his Scotch life, had come to the conclusion that "the King was either inclined to turn Papist or to be of no religion."—Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 2.

Chap. I. A review of King James' writings.

short commentary, on the Apocalypse, a creditable performance enough in style, but which, from the absence of the peculiar idioms and vulgarisms of his other writings, bears marks of having been polished by Buchanan, or some other friendly hand. His next treatise of any importance is the *Dialogue on Demonology*, a melancholy subject, and treated in such a manner, that we know not whether the rather to laugh at the absurdities it contains, or to shudder at the fearful arguments put forth in it for the shedding of innocent blood. It is first assumed from the mention of witchcraft in Scripture, that this is a real diabolical power, and not merely an empty and wicked pretence. Then a division is made of the subject, into magic or necromancy, and witchcraft proper. "The difference vulgar put between them is very merry, and in a measure true, for they say that witches are servants only and slaves to the devil, but the necromancers are his lords and masters." After a long and minute description of the arts of the conjuror, and the ceremonies he has to perform in doing his work, and after laying it down that all the users of magic arts deserve death, the royal writer passes to the more congenial subject of witchcraft proper. We are told that the devil first gains his power over witches by introducing himself to those that are sad and solitary, and of evil life, and upon his offers of help being favourably received, he sets a mark upon their bodies, "which remains, sore, unhealed, while [till] his next meeting with them, and thereafter ever insen-

Paraphrase on Apocalypse.

Treatise on Demonology.

sible, howsoever it be nipped or pricked by any, as is daily proved." After this they are the devil's ministers, and made often to meet him in assemblies, their master "occupying the pulpit." As to the way in which they get to these meetings: "One way is natural which is riding, going or sailing; another way is somewhat more strange, which is being carried by the force of the spirit, which is their conductor either above the earth or sea." "Some of them say that being transformed in the likeness of a little beast or fowl, they will come and pierce through whatsoever house or Church, though all ordinary passage be closed." "There are twenty women given to the craft where there is one man, and the reason is easy, for as that sex is frailer than man, so is it easier to be entrapped in these grosser snares of the devil..... To speak of the principal points of their craft, they can make men or women love or hate one another; they can lay the sickness of one on the other; they can bewitch or take the life of men or women by the roasting of the pictures; they can raise storms or tempests in the air; they can make folks to become phrenetic or maniac; they can make spirits either to follow or trouble persons, or to haunt certain houses. No man can promise any impunity to himself from them; the only cure is earnest prayer to God, the amendment of their lives, and the sharp pursuing of these instruments of Satan, whose punishment to the death will be a salutary sacrifice to the patient. They ought to be put to death according to the law of God, the civil and

Chap. I. imperial law, and municipal law of all Christian nations. The death commonly used is by fire..... no sex, age or rank ought to be exempted..... bairns or wives or never so defamed persons may by our law serve as sufficient witnesses or proof..... And besides, there are two other good marks which may be used at their trial. The one is the finding their mark and the trying of the insensibleness thereof; the other in their floating on the water, for God hath appointed that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom.....no not so much as their eyes are able to shed tears, threaten and torture them as ye please." Alas! full many a bitter tear of anguish has been shed in the horrible and senseless cruelties to which these wretched fantasies gave a kind of imperial sanction.

Basilicon Doron.

After the diseased imaginings of the treatise on witchcraft, we turn with relief to the practical common sense of the *Basilicon Doron*—the instructions for the life and conduct of the prince. In this treatise James begins by telling his son that a king is "a little God," and then goes on to string together for his use, numerous commonplaces in religion and morality, interspersed with some special rules of king-craft. Thus he is bid to hold Parliaments seldom,* to set himself against parity in the Church, to put down "vain Puritans," as well as "proud Papal bishops," to govern his Court well, choose a good wife, live in temperance, soberness, and chastity, &c. In the form of his eating

* In this, as in several other points, we may trace the effect of the father's advice in the conduct of the son.

" be neither uncivil like a gross cynic, nor affectedly mignarde like a dainty dame;" dress "not over lightly like a Candie soldier, nor over gravely like a minister," although the king (he is told) is not *merè laicus*. He is to affect plain language and a sensible carriage, take plenty of exercise, "especially hunting with running dogs, for it is a thievish sort of hunting to shoot with guns and bows;" to read a good deal, and to avoid sedentary games; cards and dice being objectionable, and chess "overwise and philosophical a folly."* Chap. I.

The *True Law of Free Monarchies*, is a short and commonplace argument for the divine right of kings. After having argued from Scripture against rebellion, even in the case of wicked kings (in which he is somewhat puzzled to know what to do with Jehu), he takes "the fundamental and civil law." "Kings were in Scotland before any estates or ranks of men in the same, before any Parliaments were holden, or laws made.....and so it *True Law of Free Monarchies.*

* This treatise seems to have been greatly admired by all classes in England on the King's accession. The Puritans in their millenary petition, speak with commendations of what "his princely pen writeth." Father Persons, the Jesuit, in his Preface to the *Three Conversions*, says:—"It is, in truth, a golden gift in respect of the excellent matter contained therein. And it discovereth so many rare parts in the writer, as may justly give all Catholics good hope to see one day that fulfilled in his majesty which most they desire." It was presented by the King to the University of Cambridge, and George Herbert, then Public Orator, acknowledged the gift in a letter of thanks, which concluded with the couplet—

"Quid Vaticanam, Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca liber."

Walton's *Life of Herbert.*

Chap. I. follows that kings were the authors and makers of the laws, and not the laws of the kings." The king is then asserted to be the *dominus* of all the land in the country, and of the persons of the inhabitants. He is the father of his subjects, so that it is unnatural for them on any pretext, for any cruelty or rigour, to rebel—a very convenient doctrine for kings.

Counterblast to Tobacco.

The *Counterblast to Tobacco* is an amusing bit of pedantry, but written nevertheless in a very bad temper. There are some extraordinary physical theories in it, but only one politico-religious allusion, "and if it could by the smoke thereof cast out devils as the smoke of Tobias' fish did (which I am sure could smell no stronglier) it would serve as a precious relic both for the superstitious Papists and the insolent Puritans to cast out devils withal."

Quickly upon this followed his attack upon Pope Paul V., and Cardinal Bellarmine for objecting to the oath of allegiance. This oath was tendered after the discovery of the Plot, to all the Romanists in the country, being intended, as the king says, for "making a difference between the civilly obedient Papists, and the perverse disciples of the Powder Treason." The Cardinal had confounded this oath with the oath of supremacy, upon which the King takes him sharply to task, bringing against him also numerous contradictions and misstatements picked out of his writings, and belabouring his assertion that no Pope ever ordered the murder of kings, with historical facts without number as to

the popes having originated and encouraged rebellion and the murder of sovereigns. Chap. I.

The *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance* was reprinted with an "Epistle dedicatory to all Christian sovereigns," in the title of which the King calls himself, "The Professor, Maintainer, and Defender of the true Catholic and Apostolic Faith." In this James takes the opportunity of animadverting upon the two answerers of his Apology—one English,* "with whose blasphemies he will not defile his pen;" the other Latin, calling himself Mattheus Tortus,† "a throwne Evangelist indeed, full of throward Divinity." In the course of this epistle the King makes an elaborate "confession of his faith," stating among other things, that "he ever maintained that bishops ought to be in the Church, as an Apostolic institution, and the ordinance of God." For the proof of this, he refers to the Preface to his *Basilicon Doron*, which he says he composed *in odium Puritanorum*. Upon looking, however, to the Preface, we find him rather attempting to apologise to the Puritans, and stating that what he had said in the treatise, was only intended to apply to bad, seditious preachers, and not to all those who prefer the Presbyterian discipline. "And that this is the only meaning of my book, and not any coldness or crack in religion, that place doth plainly witness, where, after I have spoken of the faults in our Ecclesiastical state, I exhort my son to be beneficial to the good men of the ministry, praising God there that there is presently a suffi- *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance.*

* Persons. † Bellarmine.

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cient number of good men of them in this kingdom, and they are all known to be against the form of the English Church." Again, "I protest upon mine honour that I meant not (my censure) of them who are persuaded that the bishops of the Church of England smell of a Papal supremacy." Thus King James claims credit with the foreign Catholics for having said that which he "protests upon his honour," to the Puritans he did not intend to say.*

Treatise against Vorstius.

If this does not raise the King in our estimation for fair dealing, neither does the next passage in his literary history, which is his furious attack upon Dr. Conrad Vorstius. This divine, promoted to the Divinity Chair at Leyden, had published some scholastic speculations on the nature and attributes of God, which exasperated King James above measure. Straightway he sets to work all his influence and power with the States-General, to crush the unfortunate professor. The States, however, much to their honour, upheld him. The royal theologian excessively angry at this, proceeds to hurl a withering "declaration" against the "blasphemous monster," as he not very civilly terms him. The treatise is a curious exhibition of weak argument

* The contradictions between the treatise and preface, may probably be explained by the fact that the *Basilicon Doron* though finished in 1599, was not published till 1603, when it rapidly ran through three editions (Lingard). At that moment James was desirous of pleasing all parties, and yet fearful of encouraging the ultra-Puritans. The King, however, was not straightforward and consistent in anything. "He continued always writing and talking against Popery," says Burnet, "but acting for it."—*Own Times*, p. 5, ed. 1838.

and bad temper, and we are happy to be able to think that it did no great harm to the poor doctor at whom it was levelled. But King James was not satisfied with schooling the States-General as to their professors of divinity. Before long, the proceedings of another neighbouring nation gave occasion to him to write a large and elaborate treatise on a congenial subject. Cardinal Perron had, in the year 1615, made a speech in the French Parliament, wherein he asserted and maintained that kings might be deposed by the Pope. Whereupon the King of England, who felt himself personally touched in this matter, brings into play his heavy artillery of fathers and schoolmen, and utterly routs (as he conceives) the Cardinal and his party.*

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Against Cardinal Perron.

The only other theological works of King James, are two short meditations, one on the Lord's Prayer, the other on the Passion. The former is a highly characteristic treatise. It is dedicated to Buckingham, "In regard as well as the necessity that courtiers have to pray (considering that among great resort of people they cannot ever be in good company, besides the many allurements they have to sin), as also that short prayers are the fittest for them, for they have seldom leisure to bestow long

Meditation on Lord's Prayer.

* "In the next place, I will tax my good old master King James, being a king, and having so much employment and business in state affairs, for taking upon himself to write controversies in religion. Certainly he did not advise with his divines, or if he did, they out of their timorous disposition were afraid to displease him, or to contradict anything which he himself had conceived; which I do believe by many instances, as where he writes that he was as good a man as the Pope."—Goodman's *Court of King James*, vol. i., p. 214.

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time upon praying." The practical reflections upon the petitions of the Lord's Prayer are curiously interspersed with violent attacks upon Puritans, Brownists, Chiliasts, Arminians, Papists, and the unfortunate Vorstius. We have, too, some amusing stories told to relieve the dryness of the subject.

Character of his writings.

King James will probably strike most readers of his writings as having acquired a considerable stock of learning, and as having no mean shrewdness and vigour in conducting an argument. It is of course impossible to say how much of his material was furnished by his chaplains. Royal authors have research made easy for them. His style is often clumsy and involved, displaying the most singular vulgarisms and solecisms of grammar. He was an angry disputant, rather given to railing, and not altogether truthful, as in the instance cited above.* His treatise on Demonology is simply horrible, nor is it easy to commend his violent attack on Vorstius.

His opinions and character.

He was full of the most fanciful notions about the divine right of kings—notions which, unfortunately, led to a sad issue in the next reign. As to Church matters, he was undoubtedly always a staunch lover of Episcopacy. He applied monarchical principles to the government of the Church, and looked upon Puritans as rebels. He was vain and conceited of his acquirements, and of the power of

* "James was all his life rather a bold liar than a good dissembler."—Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i. 291.

"The King was eminently a religious man (in the sense in which the term was then applied) but he was an habitual swearer, a drunkard, and a liar."—Marsden, *Early Puritans*, p. 367. See Short's *Ch. Hist.*, § 523.

speech and argument which he certainly possessed. Upon the whole, in character and disposition, he was perhaps the most unfortunate ruler that could have been called at that time to preside over the English Church and nation. Both as a theologian and a king, he had especial influence over the leading divines, and he encouraged them in those overweening notions which led to the oppressions of the Star Chamber and the Great Rebellion. He educated a son to bring his principles to a logical issue, and to expiate them with his blood. Chap. I.

Chief divines at this period.

Besides Archbishop Whitgift, whose life, extending so short a way into this reign, belongs essentially to the history of the Church under Elizabeth, the most considerable divines at the beginning of the reign of James were Bancroft, Bishop of London, Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, Andrewes, Dean of Westminster, Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, Field, Dean of Gloucester, and Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. They were all Controversialists, as indeed every divine of eminence was constrained to be in those days, but we may perhaps select Bilson, Field, and Reynolds as the most elaborate Controversial writers, Andrewes as the greatest preacher, Bancroft as the most active and energetic disputant, and Overall as the most accomplished theological teacher of the day. In proof of this last assertion, we will adduce the opinion of Archbishop Williams, who had been one of his pupils at Cambridge: "I asked him," says Hacket, "what it was that pleased him in Dr. Overall above all others that he had heard. He gave me this

Chap. I. answer: First, Dr. Overall was used to prove his conclusions out of two or three texts of Scripture at the most, and no more, being such places upon whose right interpretation the judgment of the cause did chiefly depend. Secondly, that above all men that ever he heard, he did most pertinently quote the Fathers. And, thirdly, when he had fixed what was prime and principal truth in any debate, with great meekness and sweetness he gave great latitude to his auditors, how far they might dissent, keeping the foundation sure without breach of charity." It fell to the lot of Bancroft to open a new phase in the great controversy on Church government in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross, on *Trying the Spirits*, and to show in his books on *Dangerous Positions in Church and State*, and the *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, the most uncompromising and bitter hostility to the Nonconformists. In the Hampton Court Conference, it was Bancroft who most eagerly pressed into the front rank to combat the Puritan positions, and whose disputatious spirit led him to such an outbreak of passion as to bring down upon himself a just reproof from the Royal Moderator. As a writer, however, he was far inferior both to Bilson and Field, whose great works still hold a foremost place in English theology; and as a preacher to Andrewes, whose sermons, disfigured though they are by quaint conceits, are yet full of valuable matter, and enriched with the varied play of a most lively imagination.

As the two great schools of Anglican Divinity are well represented on the subject of Church go-

vernment, by the treatises of Bilson * and Field, it will not be out of place here to take a short review of their contents and method. Bilson's work is first in order, having been published eleven years before James succeeded to the throne. It is a remarkable and very important treatise. It is the first work of Anglican divinity which asserted and argued the necessity of the Apostolical succession to constitute a Church. In his view, Episcopacy is not merely an ancient and Apostolical Jurisdiction, as it is with Hooker and Field, but a distinct order, necessary for the very existence of a Church. Without it there can be no lawful ordaining of ministers, and, by consequence, no lawful administering of the Word and Sacraments. "The things proper to bishops, which might not be common to presbyters, are singularity in succeeding and superiority in ordaining. The presbyters, for

Bilson's *Treatise on Church Government.*

* Besides his *Treatise on Church Government*, Bishop Bilson wrote a long and elaborate work on a point much controverted at that time—viz., Christ's descent after death into hell. It was doubtless a fear of the notion of *Hades* as a middle place, where the souls of departed spirits are kept, favouring the Romish doctrine of Purgatory, which led some Protestant divines to expound what is said in Scripture of our Lord descending into hell, either as referring to the terrible and searching agony which he endured in his life (called by metaphor the "pains of hell"), or as referring actually to the place of the damned, into which it was asserted that Christ entered, that he might taste all the penalty belonging to sin. It was against these errors that Bishop Bilson wrote his *Survey of Christ's Sufferings*, &c., which was published in 1604, and dedicated to King James. This treatise is very powerfully written, but it is disfigured and disgraced by an excessive acrimony of tone and violence of railing, which contrasts strangely with the more temperate style of the work on Church government, published twelve years before.

Chap. I. need, might impose hands on penitents and infants, but by no means might they ordain ministers of the Word. And this singularity descends from the Apostles by a perpetual chair of succession, and doth to this day continue.... Bishops ever since the Apostles' time have been severed from presbyters in the Church of Christ, and the first placing of bishops above presbyters was Apostolic."—Ch. xii. A great part of the treatise is occupied in arguing againt lay-elders,* an office for which the Presbyterians contended from the words of St. Paul (I. Tim., v., 17). "Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour, specially they that labour in the Word and doctrine." The interpretation put upon this text by the Presbyterian writers is elaborately refuted, and it is shown from antiquity that no such persons as lay-elders were known to the primitive Church. The method of the work is principally by stating and refuting objections—a treatment which makes it prolix and tedious, as almost the same objections constantly recur, and are met by the same replies. The treatise has, however, many excellencies. The style is clear and simple; the temper in which it is written, good; the arguments fair, and the research considerable. Though unequal in every way to Hooker's great treatise, it is not altogether unworthy to stand by its side, and it says much for the learning of the English

* These were stigmatised by Dr. Saravia, not very elegantly, as "Church bugs."—Saravia on *Priesthood* (English Version).

Church that two such works should have appeared in the same year.* Chap. I.

The other treatise which we have selected, as illustrating the controversial writings of the time, was not published till fourteen years afterwards.† It is entitled *Of the Church*, by Dr. Field, Dean of Gloucester, and was composed to meet the assaults of the Romanists, not against the Puritans. It is a work in every way admirable for the quiet dignity of its style, the fairness of its statement, and the vast learning which it displays. Having first arrived at the definition of the true Church, which is "the multitude and number of those whom Almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the work of his grace, and calleth by the knowledge of such supernatural verities as concerning their everlasting good he hath revealed in Christ," he then lays down the notes of the Church, which are three: (1) The Profession of the Truth; (2) The Preservation of the Sacraments; (3) Union under lawful Field, *Of the Church.*

* 1592.

† 1606. The fifth book was added, 1610. Dr. Field was the friend of Hooker. "Their judgments," says Mr. N. Field, "agreed together; they were both of a suitable temper, of deep and profound learning, and remarkable humility." Dr. Field had a very high reputation among his contemporaries. When King James first heard him preach, he said "This is a Field for God to dwell in." He was nominated Bishop of Oxford by the King, but did not live to be consecrated. He had a great memory, and a greater judgment, was particularly opposed to party disputes and ever most studious of peace. His great work, *Of the Church*, is thus mentioned by Dr. White: "A book that I recommend to our zealousest adversaries to read with diligence, and to compare with the learnedest that have written on their side."—*Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.* Art. Field.

Chap. I. Pastors and Guides. There he defends against Bellarmine and Stapleton. He then applies them to the case of particular churches, allowing freely that the Latin Church has these notes, "notwithstanding the manifold abuses and superstitions that in time crept in;" and answers the oft-repeated taunt as to where our Church was before Luther's time, in this admirable manner: "This, then, we think to have been the true Church of God before Luther, namely, that wherein all our fathers lived and died, wherein none of the errors reproved by Luther ever found general, uniform, and full approbation, in which all the abuses removed by him were, long before, of all good men complained of." In the fourth book he treats of the authority of the Church, meeting the Romanists with unanswerable logic: "No man proveth a thing doubtful, by that which is as much doubted of as itself; so that to prove the authority and infallibility of the Church, by the testimony and authority of the Church, is as if one looking upon him to be a lawgiver, whose authority is doubted of, should first make a law and publish his Proclamation, and by virtue thereof give himself power to make laws." Having refuted the error of those who prefer the authority of the Church before the Scripture, he lays down in what way the testimony of the Church and of the fathers is to be respected in the interpretation of Scripture. His remarks here are full of candour and good sense. He says, "Yet do we think that holding the faith of the fathers, it is lawful to dissent from that interpretation of some particular places, which the greater

part of them have delivered, or perhaps all that have written of them, and to find out some other not mentioned by any of the ancient."—iv., 16. In the fifth book he treats of the ministers of the Church, opposing the arguments of the Romanists as to the Pope's power. He does not hold that Apostolical Succession (in the technical sense) is absolutely necessary for the existence of a Church. In ordinary cases, he says, none may ordain but bishops; but "in cases of necessity, as when all bishops are extinguished by death or fallen into heresy, the care and charge of the Church is devolved to the presbyters remaining Catholic; so likewise the ordaining of men to assist them and succeed them in their ministry."—v., 27. He contends against Bellarmine that bishops do not differ from priests in *order*, but only in *jurisdiction*. He asks, "Who dare condemn all those worthy ministers of God that were ordained by presbyters in sundry churches of the world, at such times as bishops, in those parts where they lived, opposed themselves against the truth of God and persecuted such as professed it?" In reply to the argument, against our orders, that the places were not empty, and, therefore, even if they were rightly ordained, the Protestant bishops could be no lawful ones, he maintains that places may be made empty by deprivation by lawful authority, or by the desertion of the people on account of the superstition or heresy of the pastor.

This treatise breathes thoroughly the characteristic spirit of our English Church. It is solid, tempe-

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rate, calm, comprehensive. It argues earnestly, without railing and vituperation; it brings great learning to bear, without over-cumbrousness or affected quaintness.

Controversy forced upon our divines.

It was scarce possible, at this period of our Church History, for any divine of eminence to keep clear of controversial theology. Bishop Andrewes, although his great force is in exegetical and practical writing,* is also found among the numerous opponents of Bellarmine. In his treatise called *Tortura Torti*, and in the *Risponsio*, he wages a learned war against the great Romish champion.† In fact, all the efforts of the most powerful minds in the English Church were much needed for clearing a broad and Catholic ground for her growth and development. It was only now, after forty years of struggle, that the true position of the Anglican Church was beginning to be seen and vindicated. Her theologians now no longer lean on Calvin or Beza, or Bullinger or Luther, but on Scripture interpreted by Catholic antiquity. This is the position which we see the great divines of the beginning of the seventeenth century endeavouring to take up. But it was a difficult one, and needed all their skill.‡

* "To sermons he had been most bred, and in them he most excelled."—Bishop Laud's *Preface to Andrewes's Sermons.*

† "None stronger than he when he wrestled with an adversary. And that Bellarmine felt, who was as well able to stand for himself as any that stood for the Roman party."—Bishop Laud's *Preface to Andrewes's Sermons.*

‡ Of all the treatises written, probably the cleverest in its biting invective and withering sarcasms, was Crakanthorp's *De-*

Pressed, on one side, by the Puritans, who held everything that had been Romish as utterly Anti-christian; and, on the other side, by the Romanist, who strove to force them from their Catholic ground, and to cast them back among the wild extravagances developed by the setting free of religious thought, it was hard to hold a sober, candid, and reverential course. It was hard not to reject angrily and petulantly things which had been merely tainted, without having become radically corrupt; and, on the other hand, not to press too stiffly for the usages and opinions of antiquity against modern learning, applied to the explanation of the Scripture. The necessity of their position made them controversial and antagonistic; only, therefore, the more readily do we welcome writings of this period which are free from this character, and admire in the sermons of Bishop Andrewes the learning and ingenuity of a great divine employed in their fitting task of expounding and elucidating the high mysteries of our religion. Chap. I.

We may consider these famous sermons in two principal lights, as to their *matter* and their *manner*. With regard to the first, it will probably be readily admitted by those most read in theological writings, that these sermons may bear comparison with any others. They are full to the very brim of striking Bishop Andrewes's *Sermons*.

fence of the English Church against the attacks of the Archbishop of Spalatro, to whose curious history we shall have to recur as we proceed. This writer is truly marvellous in his learning, and wields the Latin tongue with such telling force, that it seems far more vigorous in his hands than the somewhat cumbrous English of the period.

Chap. I. thoughts and profound remarks. They deal out with a wonderful profusion, images, illustrations, metaphors—all the ornaments of rhetoric—and they are no less admirable for their strict and severe logic, never leaving the subject in hand, and making all the argument employed subserve the main conclusion. Each sermon of Bishop Andrewes might furnish a diffuse writer matter for an entire treatise. No one can read them without being fairly bewildered and astonished at the vast stores of thought and learning which are poured out almost recklessly before him. But with regard to manner the case is different. Bishop Andrewes's manner is in the highest degree peculiar. He tortures, twists, and twirls his subject about, so that one can hardly imagine that he could have been listened to with becoming gravity. Sometimes he indulges in puns and curious plays on words; sometimes by an extraordinary jumbling together of English, Latin, and Greek words, he produces the most curious effect; so that we are tempted to say that as these sermons are the richest and most copious in matter, so are they the worst in style and manner of any that have ever obtained a more than passing celebrity. We feel persuaded that the Bishop of Winchester must have been "followed" by many of the courtiers not for edification but for amusement; that his oddities must have furnished them with a stock of good stories, and that King James often enjoyed a hearty laugh over these congenial *facetiæ*. Indeed we cannot but think that his constant preaching before the King, and the evident favour in which he was

held, was due to a similar source. King James was extremely fond of theology, but rather disinclined to home exhortations bearing on his own duties and life.* We find none of these in Bishop Andrewes. Did we not know from other sources that he was an earnest and pious man, we should scarcely discover it from his sermons. They are a great exhibition of skill, and imagination, and learning, but they are so occupied in the discussion of the subject, that they almost forget the application. Just as Louis XIV. could sit with his mistress by his side, to listen to the eloquent flights of Massillon, so could King James, with his libertine courtiers, take a pleasure in hearing the rich and varied eccentricities of the great Bishop of Winchester. Neither of the preachers struck home. It is not that to a devout mind there is a deficiency in Bishop Andrewes's sermons, but it is that the manner so interferes with the solemn earnestness which ought to characterise a sermon,† that it would

* "Strongly inclined himself to mirth and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended their (the Puritan clergy) censure for his manner of life, free and disengaged."—*Hume*, vi., 12.

† "No man who is much in earnest delivers himself in quibbles and conceits, but in the strong impassioned words of nature, and in them alone."—Marsden's *Early Puritans*, p. 368.

The following is a caricature, but not altogether an unfair one on this sort of style:—"The second inquiry that may be made is this, whether or no punning, quibbling, and that which they call joking, and such other delicacies of wit, highly admired in some academic exercises, might not be very conveniently omitted? For he that in his youth has allowed himself this liberty of academic wit, by this means he has usually so thinned his judgment, become so prejudiced against sober sense, and so altogether disposed to trifling and jingling that so soon as he gets hold of a text, he presently thinks that he has catched one of his old school questions;

Chap. I. need really a reverent spirit to listen to them profitably, and we can easily conceive their being listened to in quite another fashion. Take, for instance, the following on the text:—"To us a child is born." "Not an angel in heaven can say *nobis*, *vobis* they can. They said it twice. *Nobis natus*, or *datus;* they cannot, but we can both. *Nobis exclusivè*, and *nobis inclusivè*. The Turks and Jews can say, *puer natus est;* the devil can say, *filius natus est*, but neither say *nobis*, but quid *nobis* et *tibi?*" Here too is a rather quaint summing up of the explanation of the text: "The Word was made flesh." "All reducible to these three: *Quod Verbum, caro. Quid Verbum, Carni: Quid Caro, Verbo.*" Again, he is preaching on the text: "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day." "Rejoice to see what?* why, that we shall now fare well—look you, that is it: as it is, dies *epuli*,

and so falls a-flinging it out of one hand into another, tossing it this way and that, here catching at a word, there nibbling and sucking at an *and*, a *by*, a *quis* or a *quid*, a *sic* or a *sicut;* and thus minces his text so small, that his parishioners until he rendezvous it again, can scarce tell what is become of it."—Dr. Echard's *Works*, p. 28, ed. 1712.

John Aubrey says of him: "He had not that smooth way of oratory as now. It was a shrewd and severe animadversion of a Scotch lord, who, when King James asked him how he liked Bishop Andrewes's sermon, said that he was learned, but that he did play with his text, as a Jackanapes does who takes up a thing and tosses and plays with it, and then he takes up another and plays a little with it. Here's a pretty thing, and there's a pretty thing."—Aubrey's *Lives*, ii., 207.

"He was an unimitable preacher in his way," says Fuller; "and such plagiaries as have stolen his sermons, could never steal his preaching."—Fuller's *Worthies*. See Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 477.

* This is spoken of the people rejoicing.

not *Christi*. What farther? that we shall now see pastimes, that is as it is, *dies ludi*, not *Christi*. Put both together, 'down they sat to feast—up they rose to play.' So you have the Golden Calves holiday right. It is *dies vituli*, not *Christi*." Again on the text: "*Per me reges regnant*," what can be more droll than the way in which he rings the changes on *per me?* "So many *per me*'s. *Per me* Clement, Castell, Catesby, and they again so many *pers*. Per knives, pistol, poison, powder, all against this *per* of continuance.....If *per me reges* be from Christ, from whom is the other *per me?* If by me *kings reign* be Christ's—by me *kings slain*, whose *per* is that *per?* That *per* cannot be the *per* of any but of Christ's opposite."

Want of earnestness prevalent in the Church.

We think it was unfortunate for those who heard him, as it is for his readers now, that the full, rich, and eloquent sermons of this great divine are disfigured by so strange a style and manner.* But the manner itself, and the way in which it was received and admired, are also full of instruction as to the religious feelings of the time. It belongs to an age

* The style of Bishop Andrewes, faulty as it was, was nevertheless eagerly imitated, as might be expected from his popularity with the King. Dr. Laud, then Dean of Gloucester, preaching before James at Wanstead, in the year 1621, delivered a sermon adorned with all the oddities of the great bishop of Winchester. This sermon is noticed in a letter from Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton: "Herewithal I send you a sermon of Dr. Laud's on the King's birthday, because it is after the manner of the Bishop of Winchester's preaching," &c. The sermon was preached June 19. On June 29, there is this entry in Laud's Diary: "His Majesty gave me the grant of the bishopric of St. David's, being St. Peter's Day."—Notes to vol. i. of Laud's Works, *Ang. Cath. Library*.

Chap. I. of controversial divinity to be wanting in earnestness; and Bishop Andrewes' Sermons might, as we have said, be very well welcomed and praised by an audience lacking this great essential in religion. The Church had, in fact, become so complicated with the State; religious and political views had been so confounded; Romanism had become so identified with treason, and Puritanism with sedition; the bishops had been so eager to play the courtier, and the courtiers to affect the knowledge and language of the divine, that the very heart of religion was in danger of being eaten out.* The necessity of their position, as well as the strong encouragement and example of the King, made the great divines controversial and belligerent; but this was done at the eminent risk of injuring the cause of true piety.†

Although the sermons of Andrewes are so rich in intrinsic merit, we do not think they would have been admired in an uncontroversial age; whereas, to those who were constantly employed in hurling sharp apothegms and biting sarcasms at their enemies, the very pungency and quaintness of their manner made them more acceptable; and the sharp, angular way in which doctrinal statements are designedly

* "In one sense, the reign of James is the most religious part of our history, for religion was then fashionable, and underneath this promising exterior the current of real piety was shallow."—Marsden's *Early Puritans*, 367.

† "I am more than ever sensible how much mischief men have done by their controversies in the Church; how some have destroyed charity and some caused schisms by them; and most have *hindered godliness* in themselves and others."—Baxter's *Autobiography*.

cast, made them better remembered and applied. These sermons are, in fact, just what we should expect popular sermons to be in an age of scholastic and doctrinal controversy; not that they are controversial in themselves, but that their tone is suited to those whose minds are engaged in these struggles. Contrasted with the writings of Bishop Hall and Bishop Taylor, they seem deficient in earnest purpose and zeal. It is not, however, that the inward life is really lacking, but that the outward form, suggested by the tastes of the day, is hostile to the true expression of it.

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But besides what we may consider the faulty manner of Bishop Andrewes, his matter would not, as may be supposed, pass current in all points without exception being taken against it. He was infected with the disease of king-worship, and by his preaching helped to encourage and foster the notions which King James had taken up,* that the chief magistrate of the State held his place and appointment on entirely a different footing from any other magistrates—that, in fact, he was a sort of Divine emanation, whose acts, however wicked and cruel, were not to be questioned or resisted, but borne in meek submission; the only remedy being prayer.† This idolatrous reverence of the kingly

Some strange doctrines in Bishop Andrewes's sermons.

* "He had established within his own mind a speculative system of absolute government. In his own person he thought all legal power to be centered by an hereditary and Divine right." —Hume, 622.

† See King James's *True Law of Free Monarchies.* The doctrine of Divine right is systematized and formally stated in the Canons passed in the Convocation of 1603—10. "If any man

Chap. I. office, led Bishop Andrewes to give forth utterances in the pulpit which we should have thought it almost impossible for a Christian bishop to enunciate. Take, for instance, his extraordinary defence of cursing the King's enemies, and uttering every horrible malediction possible against those who should be politically opposed to his rule: "What the saints and angels, God himself, have done, may be done, I trust. It may be done, and ought to be done sometimes, and in this very case it ought and must." And the following passage, in which he seems almost savagely to gloat over the horrible penalties then affixed to the crime of high treason: "Ask of Korah. He rose against Moses. How sped he? He went to hell quick for it. Ask of Baanah and Rechab, that rose against their Lord. Look over the Pool of Hebron, there stand their quarters on poles. Ask of Bigthan and Teresh, what of them? Fairly hanged at the court gate. Time will not serve to inquire of all. The short is, all that were as Absalom came to his end. Some hanged, and their heart opened yet alive (so

shall affirm either that the Son of God was not the governor of all the world, or that he did not appoint under him divers kings, princes and civil magistrates, to rule and govern in the kingdoms and places assigned to them; or that having so appointed them, he did not himself direct, uphold, and rule them by his omnipotence, &c., he doth greatly err."—Can. xxxv. One would have supposed that this and the numberless kindred sentiments, as given in Overall's *Convocation Book*, would have satisfied even King James, particularly as the divines go so far as to say that it would have been utterly indefensible for the Israelites to have left Egypt, "without the license of King Pharaoh." The King, however, was not satisfied with their work.—See Preface to Overall's *Convocation Book*.

was Absalom), and their bowels plucked out to make them like Judas. Some, their heads stricken off; so was Sheba. Some quartered, and their hands, head, and feet set on poles, that the ravens might pluck out their eyes, as Baanah and Rechab. For all the punishments of traitors, as they are now in use with us, may be seen to have been collected and drawn together from those several examples that stand in the Word of God." This almost makes our blood run cold; but it was, doubtless, not distasteful to the man who could write the *Treatise on Demonology*, recommending the testing of witches by pricking them with pins and floating them on the water, and whose favourite amusement was baiting the wild animals in the Tower menagerie with savage dogs.*

Controversial and political character of Church gives great advantage to Puritans.

It is not indeed fitting that we should exactly try such matters as these by the standard of modern times. It is partly a question of taste. We cannot, however, but see a strong indication in this and similar passages of the state purposes for which religion was used even by the best and foremost among preachers; and religion cannot become an engine of State policy without losing much of its living force. The controversial and political leaven marred the Church's practical efficiency, and made way for and encouraged the rapid spread of Puritanical principles, and the extreme popular favour in which the preachers of them were held.† There

* Wilson's *Life of James I.*, p. 33, &c. Howes's *Chronicle*, pp. 835, 865, 894, 895.

† "The Puritans gained credit, as the King and bishops lost

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is nothing in the diseased imaginings and childish conventionalities of Puritanism especially consonant with the English character, but the Puritan preachers had this great recommendation: they were men who seemed to be in earnest. They did not appear to be playing a part and acting in a well got-up drama, by way of making a decent outwork and screen for tyranny and oppression. They had the advantage of being the oppressed rather than the oppressors, and although the spirit of persecution was far stronger in them than in the Church, they were, happily for themselves, prevented by circumstances from displaying it. Constrained to a humility, meekness, and obscurity, which they could but ill brook, they contrasted favourably with the overweening pretensions and harsh severity of some among the Church rulers; and their diligence, zeal, and earnestness, put to shame the mere formalities and inconsistent professions of some in the highest places in the land.

The Romanists.

We must endeavour to come to the history of this period with no prejudiced determination to find everything bright or everything dark in any party. It may be said that to this the Roman Catholics at least furnish an exception. Disfigured as they are by the foul treason of their dark conspiracy, it may

it. They put on external appearances of great strictness and gravity; they took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to the bishops, and were often preaching against the vices of the Court, for which they were sometimes punished, though very gently, which raised their reputation and drew presents unto them, that made up their sufferings abundantly."—Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 9. Ed. 1838.

be thought that in them at least no redeeming point, no bright spot, can be discovered. But if we cannot palliate their act, we can at least find some excuse for the disposition which led to it. They were at any rate not unprovoked. Hear Bishop Goodman, a contemporary Protestant bishop: "Now, that they saw the times settled, having no hope of better days, but expecting that the uttermost rigour of the law should be executed, they became desperate, finding that by the laws of the kingdom their own lives were not sacred, and for the coming over of a priest into England it was no less than high treason. A gentlewoman was hanged only for relieving and harbouring a priest, a citizen was hanged only for being reconciled to the Church of Rome: besides, the penal laws were such, and so executed, that they could not subsist. What was usually sold in shops and openly bought, this the pursuivant would take away from them, as being Popish and superstitious. One knight did affirm that in one term he gave twenty nobles as rewards for the doorkeeper of the Attorney-General; another did affirm that his third part, which remained unto him of his estate, did hardly serve for his expense in law to defend him from other oppressions, besides their children to be taken from home to be brought up in another religion. They did further consider their misery, how they were debarred in any course of life to help themselves; they could not practise law, they could not be citizens, they could have no office; they could not breed up their sons, none did desire to match with them; they had neither fit marriages for their

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daughters, nor nunneries to put them into. The Spiritual Courts did not cease to molest them, to excommunicate them, then to imprison them; and thereby they were utterly disenabled to sue for their own."*

Hardships of their condition.

This we must allow is a sufficiently wretched picture. For the Papist, however, there was no Hampton Court Conference, no measures of relief or toleration even dreamed of. The laity, indeed, received some marks of the royal favour, but this was to allure them to be deserters of their cause and semi-apostates from their faith. A Roman Catholic layman, who turns against his priest, cannot be held to be acting in the spirit of the religion he professes. The rewards given to the laity were offered at the same moment that an edict of extreme severity was thundered against the priests; † we cannot, therefore, admit King James's claim of a clemency towards Papists greater than that of his predecessor.‡ The Romanist was so hedged round with penalties and disabilities, that nothing seemed to remain for him but a hidden life of plot, conspiracy, and intrigue. The constant under-

* Goodman's *Court of King James*, vol. i., p. 100, 101.

† A proclamation was published on the 22nd of February, in the first year of King James, ordering all priests, of what sort soever, into banishment, and decreeing death against them if they were found in the country.

‡ "My government over them hath so far exceeded hers in mercy and clemency, as not only the Papists themselves grew to that height of pride in consequence of my mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves, liberty of conscience and equality, with other my subjects in all things; but even a number of the best and faithfullest of my said subjects were cast in great fear and amazement," &c.—King James's *Apology for Oath of Allegiance*.

agitation of the body politic thus produced was in every way unfortunate. Unfortunate for the Romanists, in furnishing a show of justice for the cruelties inflicted upon them; for the Government and Church, in keeping their bitter resentments alive; for the Puritans, in giving the rulers an excuse for more arbitrary proceedings against them.

Difficulties through which the Church had to pass.

When we regard the dangerous and difficult paths through which our Church had to travel; the snares and temptations which beset it, the hostile parties which were ranged against it, and the elements of weakness which it had in those most bound to support it, we cannot but admire its progress and be thankful for its success. That, in spite of all drawbacks and all imperfections, it should nevertheless have happily taken such hold of the nation, as to make its restoration after the short saturnalia of a Puritan interregnum, eagerly desired and heartily welcomed; that it should have continually flourished and increased, and preserved the chastened and primitive spirit of its services, the wise comprehensiveness of its formularies, and the living earnestness of its tone, through so many and various dangers, is a matter for deep thankfulness to every humble-minded member of its communion. As we look around us now, we must needs glory in the blessings of which we are the partakers, and be ready to cast back the reverential glance of gratitude to the great champions and defenders of our faith. Let this be done, however, so that truth be not tampered with, nor prejudiced dis-

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tortion allowed. Let us try to mark the good and the evil both in friend and enemy. On such matters, it does not become us to favour the studied panegyric, or the elaborate apology, but to criticize truthfully, plainly, earnestly, that we may learn for ourselves how to avoid the bad, and choose those things which are pure and lovely, and of good report.

Danger of power to the Church.

The period of history contained in the present volume exhibits the Church in the enjoyment of great secular power. That which Bancroft contended for is more than realized in the days of Laud, and under the friendly rule of King Charles. The Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber are the terrible instruments which it wields to enforce its authority. But this gift of power was a fatal one for its true interests. It alienated the laity, and made the Puritans for a moment popular. The Church was overthrown by power, and restored by suffering. It is probable, indeed, that history can furnish no instance of ecclesiastical persons wielding temporal power usefully and profitably for their own character and the best interests of others. At any rate, the history of this period seems charged with solemn warning; and may be held, not unreasonably, to prove, that for a Church to be in alliance with the State with safety and profit, it must submit to be entrusted with but a very limited amount of actual power; and that the full exercise of ecclesiastical discipline can never coexist, without peril, with the position of a Church upheld and established by law.

CHAPTER II.

Death of Queen Elizabeth—The bearers of the news to King James—His progress to London—The Millenary Petition—Character of the Petition—Excites the Universities—The King Crowned—A great Plague raging—Raleigh's Plot—Proclamation of October 24—The Hampton Court Conference—Insincerity of the parties—The Divines who took part in the Conference—The Advocates of the Puritans—Objections afterwards made by the Puritans to them—The first day's Conference—Matters agreed upon the first day—Meeting of the second day's Conference—The heads of objections—The first head—Angry outbreak of Bishop Bancroft—He answers Dr. Reynolds's first objections—Dr. Reynolds continues his first head of objections—The King interrupts him—Dr. Reynolds continues—The King in favour of a new translation of the Bible—The second head of objections—Mr. Knewstubbs's objections—The cross in Baptism—The King angry—Dr. Reynolds takes up the objections—The third head of objections—The King very angry—The third day's conference—Court of High Commission—The King argues for it; Whitgift and Bancroft applaud him—The decisions of the conference announced—Requests made by Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Knewstubbs—Conference ended—Remarks of Neal and Fuller—The alterations made in the Prayer Book.

Chap. II. 1603.

THE great Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603, at three o'clock in the morning. "She had been by fits troubled with melancholy some three or four months, but for this fortnight extreme oppressed with it; insomuch that she refused to eat

Death of Queen Elizabeth.

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anything, to receive any physic, or admit any rest in bed till within these two or three days. She hath been in a manner speechless for two days; very pensive and silent since Shrovetide; sitting sometimes with her eye fixed upon one object many hours together. Yet she always had her perfect senses and memory; and yesterday signified by the lifting up of her hands and eyes to heaven (a sign which Dr. Parry entreated of her) that she believed that faith which she hath caused to be professed, and looked faithfully to be saved by Christ's merits and mercy only, and by no other means. She took great delight in hearing prayers, would often at the name of Jesus lift up her eyes and hands to heaven. She would not hear the archbishop speak of hope of her longer life; but when he prayed or spoke of heaven and those joys, she would hug his hand."*

The bearers of the news to King James

So anxious, however, were the courtiers to worship the rising sun, that they did not even wait till the light of the setting luminary was actually obscured. About eleven or twelve o'clock Sir Robert Cary, the Queen's second cousin, started off for Scotland to acquaint King James that Elizabeth was at her last gasp, thus getting the start of the messengers despatched by the Council immediately on her death, much to their annoyance and anger.†

* Account written by a friend of Dr. Parry, quoted in Goodman's *Court of King James*, ii., 56.

† "Sir Robert Cary, unknown to the lords, rid post to his majesty with wondrous expedition."—Howes's *Chronicle*, p. 817. See also Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 7, note. Nicholl's *Progresses of King James*, i., 33, sq.

These, however, were not the only messengers. Not less eager were the leading members of the two great religious parties to get an early footing of favour with the new ruler. "Mr. Lewis Pickering," says Fuller, "a Northamptonshire gentleman, and zealous for the Presbyterian party, was the third person of quality, who, riding incredibly swift, brought King James the tidings of Queen Elizabeth's death. Dr. Thomas Neville, Dean of Canterbury, came into Scotland some days after him, except one will say that he comes first who comes really to affect what he was sent for."* The Dean, indeed, on this ground, might afford to journey leisurely. King James was not likely in a moment of open-hearted gladness to cast in his lot with the Puritans. Doubtless many a time, amidst the rude buffetings of the forward ministers of the kirk which he had been obliged to endure, he had looked forward to the happy day when he should be called upon to preside over a genuine Episcopal Church, in which the "monarchial principle" was properly developed.† Dr. Neville "brought back a welcome answer to such as sent him, of his Highness's purpose, which was to uphold and maintain the Government of the late Queen as

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., 1, 13.

† "From the moment that the Scotch King James had crossed the Tweed, and experienced the delicious sensation of sitting on the throne of the Tudors, after having for thirty-six years been king of a little nation of less than a million, from whom he received some £5,000 a year, with occasional presents of poultry and silk hose, and no end of pulpit instruction, it was the desire of his heart to use his new power so as to break the neck of the Scottish presbytery."—Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 374.

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she had left it settled."* Cheered by the pleasant prospect of what awaited him in the south, he could afford to leave his turbulent subjects in the north with a few fair words. "He gave public thanks to God in the Kirk of Edinburgh, that he had left both kirk and kingdom in that state which he intended not to alter any ways, his subjects living in peace."† On his way the gaols were opened as he passed along, and the prisoners set at liberty. From April 5, when he started on his journey, to May 7, when he entered into London, it was one continual pageant. The nobility and gentry of England, the corporations of the towns, the great prelates of the Church, vied with one another in doing him honour. The Bishop of Durham waited on him at the head of a hundred gentlemen, "clad in tawny liveries," and in Hertfordshire he was met by the Bishop of London at the head of a gallant company in tawny liveries and chains of gold.‡

His progress to London.

But the English Puritans who assailed him with their petitions soon began to find that their approaches were not very welcome. The king had no intention that his agreeable progress towards the south, his huntings and feastings, should be interrupted by the pressure of a crowd of grievances. "He issued a proclamation forbidding the resort of people on pretence of the scarcity of provisions, and other inconveniences which, he said, would necessarily attend it."§ Besides this, another pro-

* Fuller, u s. Strype's *Whitgift*, 559.
† Calderwood's *History of Church of Scotland*, p. 473.
‡ Howes's *Chronicle*, 819—822.
§ Hume, c. 45. Howes's *Chronicle*.

clamation was also issued, "forbidding all manner of innovation, either in doctrine or discipline."* This may be supposed to have disheartened the Puritans somewhat. Still there remained the great petition got up by Mr. Arthur Hildersham and Mr. Stephen Egerton, and signed by 750 ministers, resident in twenty-five counties. This bill of indictment against the Church and the bishops was received by his majesty on his journey. It was called the Millenary Petition, as being supposed to represent the views of not less than a thousand ministers, and as it furnishes us with a full account of the views of the Puritan party at that time, we here transcribe it:—

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The Millenary Petition.

"To the most Christian and excellent prince our gracious and dread sovereign, James, by the grace of God, &c. We the ministers of the Church of England that desire reformation wish a long prosperous and happy reign over us in this life, and in the next everlasting salvation.

"Most gracious and dread Sovereign—Seeing that it hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great comfort of all good Christians, to advance your highness according to your just title to the peaceable government of this Church and commonwealth of England; we, the ministers of the Gospel in this land, neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church,† nor as schismatics

* Collier's *Church History*, vii., 273.

† This is skilfully worded. It has an evident allusion to the King's own words in the *Basilicon Doron:* "Ye shall banish their

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aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical; but as the faithful servants of Christ, and loyal subjects to your majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the Church, could do no less in our obedience to God, service to your majesty, love to his Church, than acquaint your princely majesty with our particular griefs; for as your princely pen writeth, 'the king as a good physician must first know what peccant humours his patient naturally is most subject unto before he can begin his cure.' And although divers of us that sue for reformation have formerly in respect of the times subscribed to the book; some upon protestation, some upon exposition given them, some with condition rather than that the Church should have been deprived of their labour and ministry;* yet now we, to the number of more than a thousand of your majesty's subjects and ministers, all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies, do, with one joint consent, humble ourselves at your majesty's feet to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our humble suit then to your majesty is, that these offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified:

"(1.) In the Church service: that the cross in

conceited *parity* whereof I have spoken, which can neither stand with the order of the Church nor the peace of a Commonwealth." —*Basil. Doron*, b. ii.

* "It is evident, notwithstanding all the outcries against the bishops under Elizabeth, that numbers of the Puritans retained their livings unmolested, though they refused to wear the surplice and to conform to some of the ceremonies."—Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 134.

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Baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants,* confirmations, as superfluous, may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women and so explained.† The cap and surplice not urged. That examination go before the communion. That it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms of priests, and absolution, and some other used,‡ with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged.§ Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's Day be not profaned. The rest upon holidays not so strictly urged. That there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed.‖ No Popish opinion to be

* In the first book of *Edward VI.*, the priest is ordered to demand "of the child." This is altered in the second book to "of the Godfathers and Godmothers." The Prayer Book of Elizabeth returned to the form of Edward VI.'s first book.

† The old rubric for private baptism ran thus: "Let them that be present call upon God for His grace, and say the Lord's Prayer if the time will suffer. And one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water or pour water upon him, saying these words, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' And let them not doubt but that the child so baptized is lawfully and sufficiently baptized," &c. So much the custom was it for midwives to baptize infants, that in the oath taken by them on being admitted to their office they swore, "In the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism in time of necessity, I will use the accustomed words of the same Sacrament, &c."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 23.

‡ This is an extraordinary looseness in wording for such a document. This is worse than the *et cætera* oath.

§ To this it is replied in the Oxford answer, "Who notwithstanding are wont to spend an hour sometimes, or little less, in extempory, inconsequent, and senseless prayers, conceived rashly by themselves."—Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 149.

‖ The petitioners wished to bind the whole Church to their views. They had no notion of toleration.

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any more taught or defended. No ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical Scriptures only be read in the Church.

"(2.) Concerning Church ministers: that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry, but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's Day. That such as be already entered and cannot preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers. That non-residency be not permitted. That King Edward's statute for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage be revived. That ministers be not urged to subscribe, but according to the law, to the articles of religion,* and the King's supremacy only.

"(3.) For Church living and maintenance: that bishops leave their *commendams;* some holding prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages with their bishoprics. That double-beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three benefices with cure, and some two, three, or four dignities besides.† That impropriations annexed to bishoprics and colleges be demised only to the preacher's

* "By the 13 Elizabeth, chap. 12, the subscription of the clergy is limited to those Articles of the Church which relate 'to the Doctrines of Faith and Administration of the Sacraments only,' whereas the bishop (Archbishop Whitgift) enjoined them to subscribe to the whole thirty-nine."—Neal, i., 313. It is probable, however, that the act of Parliament *implied* the whole thirty-nine.—Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 143-4.

† This abuse was taken in hand by Archbishop Bancroft. See his Letter to his Suffragans, Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 120.

incumbents for the old rent.* That the impropriations of laymen's fees may be charged with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the preaching minister.

"(4.) For Church discipline: that the discipline and excommunication may be ministered according to Christ's own institution; or at least that enormities may be redressed; as namely, that excommunication come not forth under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c.† That men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelvepenny matters; that none be excommunicated without consent of his pastor. That the officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees. That none having jurisdiction or registers places put out the same to farm. That divers popish canons (as for restraint of marriage at certain times) be reversed. That the longsomeness of suits in ecclesiastical courts (which hang sometimes two, three, four, five, six or seven years) may be restrained. That the oath, *ex officio*, whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used.‡ That

* See note, p. 78.

† This grievance was redressed in the canons of 1640. Canon XIII ordains "That no excommunications or absolutions shall be good or valid in law, except they be pronounced either by the bishop in person, or by some other in holy orders."—Sparrow's *Collection*, 368.

‡ It is strange to see this, which one would have thought the monster grievance of all, only partially complained against. Of this oath Lord Burghley thus writes to Archbishop Whitgift: "Now, my good lord, by chance I have come to the sight of an instrument of 24 Articles of great length and curiosity, formed in a Romish style, to examine all manner of ministers in this time without distinction of persons, to be executed *ex officio mero*....

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licenses for marriage without banns asked be more cautiously granted.

"These, with such other abuses yet remaining and practised, in the Church of England, we are able to show not to be agreeable to the Scriptures, if it shall please your highness further to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved. And yet, we doubt not but that without any further process, your majesty (of whose Christian judgment we have received so good a taste already) is able of yourself to judge of the equity of this cause. God, we trust, hath appointed your highness our physician to heal these diseases. And we say with Mordecai to Esther, 'Who knoweth whether you are come to the kingdom for such a time?' Thus your majesty shall do that which, we are persuaded, shall be acceptable to God, honourable to your majesty in all succeeding ages, profitable to his Church, which shall be thereby increased, comfortable to your ministers, which shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for men's traditions; and prejudicial to none but those that seek their own credit, quiet, and profit in the world. Thus with all dutiful submission, referring ourselves to your majesty's pleasure for your gracious answer, as God shall direct you, we most humbly recommend your highness to the Divine Majesty,

These I have read and find so curiously penned, so full of branches, and circumstances, that I think the inquisitions of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and intrap their preys."—Fuller, *Church Hist.*

whom we beseech for Christ's sake to dispose your royal heart to do herein what shall be to His glory, the good of His Church, and your endless comfort. Chap. II. 1603.

"Your majesty's most humble subjects,

"The Ministers of the Gospel, that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation."

Character of the petition.

Fuller calls this a "calm and still, but deep petition," and the praise is not undeserved. Considering the hot strife in which the party had been engaged for so many years, it is certainly calm in tone. Considering, too, the opportunity and the temptation, it is not over servile or flattering to the King. The Church party, as might be expected, fell upon it; "every one giving it a lash, some with their pens, more with their tongues; and the dumb ministers (as they term them) found their speech most vocal against it."* It was objected that the signatures were unfairly procured, that "no hand which had five fingers" was refused. George Goring, then a boy, signed it on behalf of his mother. Other signatures, not more to the purpose, might be detected. But it embodied, without doubt, the honest wishes and views of a large body of the clergy of that time. It was sufficient to excite the Universities to instant action. An order passed at a congregation in Cambridge, June 9, 1603, that whoever opposed the doctrine

Excites the Universities.

* Fuller, *Church History*, x., 1—25.

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or discipline of the Church of England, either by word or writing, should be suspended from all degrees already taken, and disabled from taking any new ones.* This was a sharp rejoinder, but Oxford did more than this. It published an elaborate answer to the petition itself, wherein it is very artfully hinted that "the petitioners are for a limited monarchy, and for subjecting the titles of kings to the approbation of the people. Look upon the reformed churches abroad (say they), and wheresoever the desire of the petitioners takes place, how ill it suits with the state of monarchy. Does it become the super-eminent authority and regal person of a king to subject his sovereign power to the over-swaying and all-commanding power of a presbytery? That his meek and humble clergy should have power to bind their kings in chains, their nobles in links of iron," &c.† There was some one employed about this who knew King James well. Neal, somewhat maliciously, accounts for the sudden energy of the Universities, by pointing to the clause in the Petition, which recommends that the impropriations granted to colleges be demised to the preachers-incumbents. This may possibly not have been without some weight. The King, however, would set all right, he told them.‡

* Collier, vol. vii., 27. Strype's *Whitgift*, 567.

† Neal's *Puritans*, vol. ii., 18. Strype's *Whitgift*, 567.

‡ On the 10th of July, 1603, the King wrote to the Chancellor of Oxford, directing that the heads of colleges should consult about restoring the Impropriations. Shortly afterwards, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, raising the same point with regard to the bishops (Harleian MSS., vol. 677, 23, 30;

There should be a solemn conference, both sides should be heard, and royal wisdom should moderate.

The King crowned.—A great plague raging.

When the King entered London, the plague was raging fearfully. At the great solemnity of his coronation, on the 25th July, the streets "were almost desolate, and the pageants stood without spectators almost to gaze upon them."*

Raleigh's Plot.

In the meantime a very mysterious plot had been discovered, said to have had for its object the placing the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne. The confession and trial of the prisoners (among whom was the famous Sir Walter Raleigh), put the matter beyond doubt that a plot had existed.† What its precise object was, it is, however, difficult clearly to ascertain. Two unhappy Romish priests, Watson and Clarke, were executed for it. Watson had tried to throw the blame upon the Jesuits;

Tanner MSS., 75, 67.) Archbishop Whitgift was for some time doubtful how far King James would go in his concessions to the Puritans. "He passed this summer exceeding pensively," says Strype. The King required from him a very exact account of the actual state of the Church. Towards the end of the year, however, he wrote to assure the Archbishop "of his standing by the Church of England," which assurance Whitgift joyfully communicated in a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury.—Strype's *Whitgift*, 567, and Appendix, 43. Brook's *History of Religious Liberty*, i., 378.

* Calderwood.

† Hume, vi., 9. See Dr. Lingard's account, who makes the matter as clear as it probably can be made. Welwood says "This conspiracy was no less a mystery than Gowry's had been before."—*Memoirs*, p. 19. It appears there were two plots, one called "the main," the other "the bye." See the subject thoroughly discussed in Tierney's *Notes to Dodd's Church History*, vol. v.

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unjustly, apparently, as he solemnly asked their forgiveness at his execution.* Clarke would have "told tales, but was most miserably tortured to the great discontent of the people."† This was a wretched inauguration of the new reign, and went far, probably, towards embittering and exasperating the policy of James, as respects one great section of his new subjects.

Proclamation, October 24th.

Having now, as we may suppose, duly digested and pondered over the Millenary Petition, King James published a proclamation from Wilton, October 24, 1603, "Touching a meeting for the hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church." In this he declares that he was persuaded that the constitution of the Church of England was agreeable to God's word, and near to the condition of the primitive church. Yet, because he had received information that some things in it were scandalous and gave offence, he had appointed a meeting to be had before himself and council, of divers bishops and other learned men, at which consultation he hoped to be better informed of the state of the Church, and whether there were any such enormities in it. "But this our godly purpose," says the King, "we find hath been misconstrued by some men's spirits, whose heart tendeth rather to combustion than reformation, as appeareth by the courses they have taken; some using public invectives against the

* Robert Hobart's letter in Goodman's *Court of King James*, vol. ii., p. 88. Howes's *Chronicle*, 831.

† Hobart's *Letter*, u. s.

State ecclesiastical here established, some contemning their authority and the processes of their courts, some gathering subscriptions of multitudes of vulgar persons to be exhibited to us, to crave that reformation which, if there be cause to make, is more in our heart than in theirs.....We are not ignorant that time may have brought in some corruptions, which may deserve a review and amendment, which if, by the assembly intended by us, we shall find to be so indeed, we will therein proceed according to the laws and customs of this realm by advice of our council, or in our high Court of Parliament, or by convocation of our clergy, as we shall find reason to lead us."* Chap. II. 1604.

The Hampton Court Conference.

In accordance with this proclamation, a conference was held in the drawing-room of Hampton Court Palace, on three days, in January, 1604. If we could persuade ourselves that all the parties to this conference were sincere, that the King really wished to redress grievances, the Church divines desired to go as far as they could, and the Puritans to accept in a candid spirit the advances made to them, the Hampton Court Conference would be among the most important events in our Church history. As it is, however, the direct contrary seems to be forced upon our belief. The King had evidently long made up his mind to preserve intact the ritual and doctrine of the Church of England. The bishops, who had fought for these points for many years, enforced them by severities, upheld them in learned

Insincerity of the parties.

* Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii., 43—47. Strype's *Whitgift*, 568-9.

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treatises, were not now likely without compulsion to yield them. The Puritans, by the sweeping nature of the demands they made in matters where no concession had ever as yet been made to them, must have been rather desirous to state their case publicly before the nation and the foreign churches of the Reformation, than really hopeful of any great measure of relief. We cannot, therefore, but regard the conference as a hollow and insincere one. The King, doubtless, desired to show to his new subjects his power of speech and familiarity with theological subjects. The bishops hoped to win his favour and commendation. The Puritans went through their part like an orator delivering a speech which is meant for another auditory than that to which it is addressed. In fact, there was but little pretence of fair discussion. The King nominated the Puritan deputies.* This, of course, was sufficient to make that party throw discredit upon the whole transaction. Calderwood, the Scottish Presbyterian historian, says: "Two or three were appointed, of the sincerer side, that were not sound, but only to spy and prevaricate."† It is evident, indeed, that if Dr. Reynolds and his brethren are rightly reported, they either had not freedom of speech, or were but little inclined to push their advocacy of the cause of non-conformity to any great lengths.

The account followed by all the Church historians in relating the Hampton Court Conference,

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 20. † Calderwood, p. 474.

was written by Barlow, Dean of Chester, who was present, and which is, in fact, the only full account we have. This narrative appears one-sided, as well as disagreeably adulatory to the King. "Dr. Barlow," says Fuller, "set a sharp edge on his own and a blunt one on his adversaries' weapons."* On the other side, we have Mr. Patrick Galloway's letter to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, given in Calderwood's history, which also bears marks of unfairness. He gives an account of what took place on the first day of the conference, when it is expressly said that the Puritan divines were *not* present, and none but the bishops and deans; making a very good story of their falling upon their knees to beseech his majesty to alter nothing, lest their harsh dealings for non-conformity in past years should be reflected on.† But it is evident that the great dignitaries of the Church must have known by this time their master's temper better than to believe this to be necessary. The King, in his letter to Mr. Blake, says that "He had

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., i., 24. The Puritans complained, "Sith the King's own speeches be grossly abused by the author, it is much more likely that speeches of other men are abused. Besides, none but prelates and such as were partial being present at the first day's conference, there can be no credit at all given to the report thereof; for it is more than apparent that they have fraudulently cut off and concealed all the speeches (which were many) that his Majesty uttered against the corruptions of our Church and practice of the prelates."—Lathbury's *Convocation*, p. 225.

This may help to show us how hopeless a matter the conference was. See Barlow's narrative defended, Lathbury on *Prayer Book*, 129. Short's *Church History*.

† Strype's *Whitgift*, 571.

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soundly peppered off the Puritans;"* which, doubtless, was what he intended to do when he summoned them to plead before him. On the first day they were not allowed to be present, but the King and the bishops conferred alone; on the second day they were permitted to plead, but were often interrupted, ridiculed, and browbeaten. On the third day they were called in, merely to hear what had been determined on, without the form of their consent being asked. Truly, Neal, the advocate of the Puritans, may well call this a "mock conference."†

The divines who took part in the Conference.

Of those who took part in the conference, numbers and dignity of station very greatly preponderated on the side of the Church. There was Archbishop Whitgift, in himself a host, a practised disputant, a keen, clear-headed man, who had governed the Church for twenty years, and broken the stubbornness of many a Puritan.‡ After him, Bancroft, Bishop of London, the first public asserter in England of the Divine right of Episcopacy, a man hot, eager, zealous—destined hereafter to be a bitter foe to the party with whose principles he is now confronted; Matthews, Bishop of Durham, famous among his brethren for his elegant Latinity, and chosen on that ground by the Convocation to write to Queen Elizabeth, interceding for Grindal when in disgrace; Bilson, Bishop of Winchester,

* Appendix to Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, No. 46.

† Neal, ii., 29.

‡ Hutton, Archbishop of York, communicated his opinions in writing, being unable to attend.—Strype's *Whitgift*, 570.

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a great theologian, a clear, nervous writer, and a scholar so exact and accomplished, that he was selected before all others to give the last finishing touch to the translation of the Bible; Babington, Bishop of Worcester; Rudde, of St. David's; Watson, of Chichester; Robinson, of Carlisle; and Dove, of Peterborough. These nine represented the Episcopal order. Among the seven deans who were present, were some men of especial note. There was Montague,* long the chief favourite of the King and the editor of his works; afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Winchester. There was Andrewes, the most famous preacher of the day, and a profound and erudite scholar. There was Overall, an exact and learned divine, whose handiwork in the latter questions and answers of our Church Catechism, so many generations of English Christians have had cause to admire. Besides these, there was Dr. King, Archdeacon of Nottingham; and Dr. Field, afterwards Dean of Gloucester, and rendered famous by his treatise *Of the Church*, one of the greatest works of English divinity. Against this phalanx of Church dignitaries, there were only four champions to do battle for the Puritans. Dr. Reynolds

The advocates for the Puritans.

* Dean of the Chapel Royal. This office had been revived by James, after having been in abeyance about thirty years. Heylin says that the King revived it at Bancroft's request, who, being afraid of the dangers likely to result to the Church from the number of Scotch who were about the King, advised "That to the bishop almoner and clerk of the closet, a dean of the chapel should be added, to look unto the diligent and due performance of God's public service, and order matters of the choir."—Heylin's *Life of Laud*, 167.

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and Dr. Sparkes, from Oxford; Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Knewstubbs, from Cambridge. Of these, the most famous was Dr. Reynolds, who acted as spokesman for his party, and who is called by Neal "the oracle of his time for acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, councils, and fathers." Dr. Reynolds, however, on this occasion "fell below himself and lost some part of his esteem with the Puritans."* Certainly, if he is not misreported by Dr. Barlow, he did not shine as we should have expected from his great reputation. It was afterwards objected by the Puritans, against their representatives at the conference, that "they were neither of their nomination or choosing, nor of one judgment in the points of controversy; for, being desired by their brethren to argue against the corruptions of the Church as simply evil, they replied, they were not so persuaded. Being further desired to acquaint the King that some of their brethren thought them sinful, they refused that also. Lastly, being desired to give their reasons in writing why they thought the ceremonies only indifferent, or to answer the reasons they had to offer to prove them sinful, they would do neither the one nor the other."† If these allegations are true, it would appear that the four advocates for the Nonconformists did not really represent their party. This is probably true, indeed, as regards the extreme

Objections afterwards made by the Puritans to them.

* Neal, ii., 29. "The doctors argued weakly, so that all wondered they had no more to say."—*Dr. Montague to his Mother.* Nicholls's *Progresses*, i., 315.

† Neal, ii., 29.

Puritans, but Dr. Reynolds and his companions may be considered as fair representatives of the more moderate men who signed the Millenary Petition.

The first day's conference.

On Saturday, January 14th, only the bishops and five deans, with the lords of the council, were present with the King; it being understood that this meeting was for the King's own satisfaction as to sundry points in the English ritual, on which he desired some explanation.* They were closeted together for three hours; and, of course, all sorts of reports were prevalent as to the way in which the King had handled the bishops. By a letter, written on the 15th of January, and preserved by Barlow, we find that the Puritans fondly fancied that the King was all for them, and that the prospects of their party were bright—a notion which must have been rudely dispelled the next day. "I cannot conceal from you," says the writer, "the good success which it hath pleased God to send us by the conference which his Majesty had with the bishops at the court. There appeared none but the bishops, which were with the King above three hours. Can., Lon., Wint., fell down on their knees, and desired that all things might remain, lest the Papists should think we have been in error. The King replied, that in forty-two years corruptions might creep in.....He spake bitterly against private baptism, saying, he had as lieve an ape, as a woman, should baptize his child.....

* Strype's *Whitgift*, 571.

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Honest men about the court are comforted, conformitants hang down their heads, and the bishops' men curse the Puritans." This was all rather premature. What really took place on the first day was a great showing off of the King's learning and wit to the admiring bishops and courtiers. The points on which his Majesty desired information, viz., *Confirmation*, *Absolution*, *Private Baptism*, and *lay Excommunications*,* he might have easily informed himself upon before, from any of the bishops; but then he would have lost the opportunity of holding a sort of high controversial festival and astonishing his new subjects with his eloquence and skill. That he did produce the desired effect, may be seen from Dean Barlow's concluding remarks on the proceedings of this day. "We were dismissed after three hours and more spent; which were soon gone, so admirably both for understanding, speech, and judgment, did his Majesty handle all those points; sending us away, not with contentment only, but astonishment; and

* The following account was given of the first day's conference by Dr. Montague, Dean of the Chapel, in a letter to his mother: "His Majesty propounded six points unto them: three in the Common Prayer Book, two for the bishops' jurisdiction, and one for the kingdom of Ireland. In the Prayer Book he named the general absolution, the confirmation of children, and the private baptism by women. These three were long disputed between the King and bishops. In the conclusion, the King was well satisfied in the two former, so that the manner might be changed and some things cleared. For the private baptism, it held three hours at the least; the King alone disputing with the bishops so wisely, wittily, and learnedly, with that pretty patience, as I think no man living ever heard the like."—Nicholls's *Progresses of King James*, i., 314.

which is pitiful, you will say, with shame to us all, that a king brought up among Puritans, not the learnedest men in the world, and schooled by them, swaying a kingdom full of business and troubles, naturally given to much exercise and repast, should, in points of divinity, show himself as expedite and perfect, as the greatest scholars and most industrious students there present might not outstrip him." * Yet it is difficult, in reading the account of the discussion, to see the justification of this very strong panegyric.

Matters agreed upon the first day.

The practical result of the first day's proceedings was satisfactory as far as it went. It was agreed (1) With regard to Private Baptism, that the words "Curate or lawful minister" should be inserted in the rubric, thereby prohibiting the practice of baptizing by midwives. (2) With regard to Confirmation, that in order to mark clearly that it was no actual part of the Sacrament of Baptism, it should be called "An examination with a Confirmation." (3) That in the rubric, before the general absolution, the words "Remission of sins" should be inserted. (4) Changes were to be made in the law with regard to excommunication.

* In a similar strain, Bishop Bilson: "I can bear certain and assured witness, as likewise can the rest of your nobles and bishops then present; who all, with no less admiration than contentation, heard with what sharpness of understanding, matureness of knowledge, soundness of reason, firmness of memory and aptness of speech, your Highness entered, debated, and resolved the greatest and hardest points of Divine and human wisdom; showing in every of them such dexterity, perspicuity, and sufficiency, as I profess before God, without flattery, I have not observed the like in any man living."—Bilson's Preface to *Survey of Christ's Sufferings*.

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Then the bishops went away well pleased to their homes, to prepare themselves for the great struggle with the Puritans on the Monday following. It was indeed no small advantage to the Church divines to have found out definitely what the King's views were, and what points he really wished to have changed. They might have presumed indeed, on good ground, before, that he was thoroughly with them and against their opponents; still there was the danger, as he was so keen a theologian, of his being led, by his love of an argument, to take a sudden stand against them on some point or other: which might be inconvenient and disagreeable, if done in the presence of their antagonists. Now, however, they had felt their way. They saw where they would have to yield, and though they had store of learned arguments in favour of lay-baptism,* and though they might not think the words to be inserted in the rubrics necessary, yet they must have been exceedingly well content at finding so very little called in question, and this little without envious ears to hear, or malicions tongues to magnify, the royal objections. They must, then, have come back to the Palace on Monday, foretasting already an agreeable victory; and the proceedings of the day were, doubtless, throughout highly satisfactory to them.

Meeting of the second day's conference.

On the Monday, then, "The King made a pithy speech to the same purpose that he did the first day, differing only in the conclusion thereof, being

* Strype's *Whitgift*, 572.

an address to the four opponents of conformity there present, whom he understood to be the most grave, learned, and modest of the aggrieved sort, professing himself ready to hear at large what they could object, and willed him to begin."*

The heads of objections.

At length, then, Dr. Reynolds opens the case for the Puritan objectors. He reduces all things disliked under four heads: I. Of Doctrine; II. Of Pastors; III. Of Church Government; IV. Of Ritual and the Book of Common Prayer.

The first head.

I. Under the first head he objects (*a*), in the sixteenth Article, to the words, "After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given," and would have the words, "yet neither totally nor finally," inserted. It would be well, also, he thought, to insert into the Thirty-nine Articles the nine propositions concluded on at Lambeth.†

* Fuller, who reprints Barlow almost verbatim.

† The following account of these Articles may not be out of place: Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, having imbibed strong Calvinistic notions, denounced the Margaret Professor (Baro or Barret, a Frenchman) as a Pelagian; and having represented to Archbishop Whitgift that the orthodoxy of the University was in danger, prevailed upon him to call a meeting of several eminent divines at Lambeth, when the following Articles were agreed upon:—

1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life, certain hath he reprobated.

2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the person predestinated, but only the good will and pleasure of God.

3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.

4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

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(*b.*) In the twenty-third Article, whereas it is said that "it is not lawful for any *in the congregation* to preach before he be lawfully called," he thought these words ought to be altered, because implying one *out of the congregation may* preach, though not lawfully called.

(*c.*) In the twenty-fifth Article there is, he says, a contradiction, one clause therein confessing confirmation to be a corrupt following of the apostles, another grounding it on their example.

The tone of these objections is moderate enough, though the two latter may certainly be pronounced

5. A true living and justifying faith, and the spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the elect, either totally or finally.

6. A man truly faithful, that is such an one as is endued with a justifying faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men by which they may be saved if they will.

8. No man can come to Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

It should be observed that these propositions were never in any way adopted by the Church, but only drawn up in a private manner to meet a supposed theological error in Cambridge. Whitgift was afterwards severely reproved by Queen Elizabeth for having sanctioned them. In Bishop Andrewes's works they are published with some excellent remarks of that great divine upon them. Bishop Warburton, in his remarks upon Neal, thus assails them: "How deplorable are the infirmities of human nature! These men could set Church and State in a flame for square caps, surplices, and cross in baptism; while they swallowed, and even contended for these horrible decrees; the frightful and disordered dreams of a crude, sour-tempered, persecuting bigot, who counterworks his Creator, and makes God after man's image, and chooses the worst model he can find—*himself*."—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 391, note. See Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, ch. xvii.

rather frivolous. However, the very fact of hearing a Nonconformist objector calmly listened to was too much for the irascible Bishop of London. Not even the decent semblance of a conference, and of two sides to a question, could he tolerate. Falling on his knees, he quoted to the King the ancient canons against those who ventured to plead against bishops, bitterly taunted Dr. Reynolds with offending against the statutes of the realm, and tried to abash him with a very bad joke: "I conclude," says he, "that you are of Mr. Cartwright's mind, who affirmed that we ought in ceremonies rather to conform to the Turks than the Papists, otherwise why do ye come here in your Turkey gowns instead of your proper robes?"

Angry outbreak of Bishop Bancroft.

This outbreak, however, was too scandalous for the King to allow. The Bishop of London received a well-deserved reproof, and was bid either to answer the objections made, or to let Dr. Reynolds proceed. Bancroft being thus brought to his theology, answers the Calvinistic objection to the sixteenth Article very much to the point, and with extreme good sense. In these matters, he says, we should reason rather *ascendendo* than *descendendo*, that is, from our obedience and love to God to our election and predestination, than *vice versâ*. The doctrine of the Church of England is, as the Article has it, "We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture." The king was pleased with this, and desired that the doctrine of predestination should be "tenderly handled," having had, we may

He answers Dr. Reynolds's objections.

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be sure, considerable experience of a different sort of handling of it in his Scotch life.

(*b.*) "The second objection of the Doctor's is vain," cried the Bishop of London—which it certainly is.

(*c.*) "As to the third, about confirmation, he and his party are vexed that the use thereof is not in their own hands, for every pastor to confirm his own parish, for then it would be accounted an apostolical institution, if Dr. Reynolds were pleased but speak his thoughts therein."

This was a biting taunt, but Dr. Reynolds answered quietly, that considering the great size of dioceses, he did think it very inconvenient to permit confirmation to the bishop alone. Then came a discussion as to whether it were allowable from Scripture and primitive practice for any other than a bishop to confirm. This brought forward Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, a divine profoundly versed in these controversies. He spoke weightily and to the point, as to this being an episcopal function merely. The King declared that he believed bishops to be of *divine ordination*, and that "no bishop, no king," is a true adage. This must have been very pleasing to Bancroft and Bilson, and the divines of higher views, who were present, though neither the archbishop, nor Dr. Field, nor, probably, others among the Church theologians, would have been prepared to go so far.

Dr. Reynolds continues his first head of objections.

Dr. Reynolds then proceeds. (*d.*) In the thirty-seventh Article, where it is stated that the Bishop of Rome hath no authority in this land, there ought to be added, "nor ought to have."

"*Habemus jure quod habemus*," replied the King; which answer being thought a fit occasion for a little delicate applause from the lords, "There passed some pleasant discourse betwixt the King and lords about Puritans."

(*e.*) The next point for which Dr. Reynolds contends is that a clause signifying that "the intention of the minister is not of the essence of the Sacrament," may be added to the Book of Articles. Upon this, his majesty, still in the facetious vein, opens upon the Doctor. "Why, this is like one Mr. Craig, in Scotland, with his *I renounce* and *abhor*, his multiplied *detestation* and *abrenuntiations*, which so amazed simple people, that they fell back to Popery. You would swell the Book of Articles into a voume as big as the Bible, and I must carry my confession of faith in my table-book, not in my head. Now, because you speak of *intention*, I will apply it thus: If you come hither with a *good intention* to be informed, the whole work will sort to the better effect: but if your *intention* be to go as you came (whatsoever shall be said), it will prove the *intention* is very material, and *essential* to the present action."* This was not very encouraging to the advocates of the Puritans, but Dr. Reynolds went on quietly, and, fortunately, the two next points which he urged were not unacceptable to the King and bishops. They were:

The King interrupts him.

* "The King talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds, at Hampton, but he rather used upbraidings than arguments, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivelling."—*Nugæ Antiquæ*, i., 181.

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Dr. Reynolds continues.

(*f.*) That an addition should be made to the Church Catechism—to which we owe the latter questions and answers on the Sacraments.

(*g.*) That some order be taken for the better observance of the Lord's Day—which was unanimously agreed to.

(*h.*) Then Dr. Reynolds made application that a new translation of the Bible should be made, alleging several errors in the translation then in use.

The King in favour of a new translation of the Bible.

The Bishop of London tried to quash this, but the King thought none of the translations good. "At any rate," said the Bishop, "let us have no marginal notes."—"That is a caveat well put in," said the King, "for in the Geneva Bible some notes are partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring of traitorous conceits. Exod., i., 19: Disobedience to kings is allowed in a marginal note. II. Chron., xv., 16: King Asa taxed in the note for only *deposing* his mother for idolatry, and not *killing* her." These comments, we may be sure, were enough to condemn the Geneva Bible with the King.

(*i.*) Dr. Reynolds next petitioned that unlawful and seditious books (meaning Popish, *not* Puritanical) might be suppressed. The Bishop of London said that they were suppressed. Some of the lords present, however, stated the contrary. "Dr. Reynolds," said the King, "you are a better collegeman than statesman, if meaning to tax the Bishop of London for suffering those books between the secular priests and the Jesuits to be published,

which he did by warrant from the Council, to nourish a schism betwixt them."* Chap. II. 1604.

This concluded the first of Dr. Reynolds's four heads of objections.

II. His second he began (*a.*) by desiring that learned ministers might be in every parish. Neither the King nor bishops pretended that such was the case now. The King said that it was hard to turn the old incompetent men out, which was just; and the bishops, that the bad appointments of lay-patrons was the principal cause of unlearned ministers, which was probably true. This may have been meant as a hit at Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, at any rate he seems to have taken it so, and in his reply glanced at the bishops. "Livings don't so much want learned men, as learned men livings. I wish, therefore, that some may have single coats before others have doublets." The Bishop of London turned this off good-humouredly. "I commend your honourable care that way, but a doublet is necessary in cold weather." The second head of objections.

(*b.*) "Next," says Dr. Reynolds, "I come to subscription, which is a great impeachment to a learned ministry, and keeps many good men out."

* Of the quarrel of long standing and great bitterness between the regulars and seculars in England, ample details are given in Dodd's *Church History*. Dr. Kellison wrote his treatise *On Church Hierarchy* to endeavour to compose it. "And you, reverend priests," he says in his dedication "(under which title I comprehend you all, be you secular or regular), are of divers orders, but one hierarchy. You are divers members but of the same body, the Church.... Amongst so many motives and allurements to concord, what place can there be for discord?"—Kellison *On Church Hierarchy*.

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He urged that many ministers could not subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer, because: (1.) Of the Apocrypha, which contains some manifest errors contrary to Scripture. "Note the chapters," said the King, "and bring them to the Archbishop by Wednesday." (2.) "It is twice set down in the Common Prayer Book, 'Jesus said to his disciples,' when by the text in the original it is plain he spake to the Pharisees." The King directed that this should be altered.

Mr. Knewstubbs's objections. The cross in baptism.

Then came forward Mr. Knewstubbs with (3.) the old grievance of "the cross in baptism," and "weak brethren." "How long will such brethren be weak?" said the King, getting rather angry. "Are not forty-five years sufficient for them to grow strong in? Some of them are strong enough, if not head-strong." The bishops argued in favour of the use of the cross, but Mr. Knewstubbs insinuated that if such ceremonies were enforced it was doubtful how far those who had scruples were bound to obey. At the notion of any excuse for disobedience the king fired up. "I will have none of that; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony; never speak more to that point how far you are bound to obey."

The King angry.

Dr. Reynolds suggested that the cross was like the brazen serpent; but the King could not see the resemblance, as the cross was "made in the air," and was no material emblem which could be worshipped.

(4.) Mr. Knewstubbs objected to the surplice,

"a kind of garment used by the priests of Isis." Here his majesty took him up with good effect. "Why, till of late, I used to hear it always called a rag of Popery!" This seems to have silenced Mr. Knewstubbs, as doubtless the Church divines were not slow in joining in the laugh against him,* whereupon Dr. Reynolds again stepped forward, objecting, (5.) In the marriage service to the words, "With my body I thee worship." "Ah, Dr. Reynolds," said his majesty, "if you had a good wife yourself, you would think all worship and honour well bestowed on her." (6.) To the churching of women. "Women being loth of themselves to come to Church, this is a very good way of bringing them," replied the King. This concluded the second division of objections.† Chap. II. 1604. Dr. Reynolds takes up the objection.

III. Under the third head of matters relating to the government of the Church, Dr. Reynolds (*a.*) first objected to ecclesiastical censures by lay chancellors. This point was reserved for further discussion. The third head of objections.

(*b.*) Secondly, he would have meetings of the clergy as under Archbishop Grindal: things not resolved at these meetings to be considered at the archdeacon's visitations; and so to be carried to the episcopal synod. At this the King broke all bounds. "If you aim at a Scotch presbytery, it The King very angry.

* "The Puritan ministers were insulted, ridiculed, and laughed to scorn, without either wit or good manners."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 27.

† Dr. Reynolds does not preserve his original arrangement. He takes the topics of his original *fourth* head under the *second*, thus reducing the main divisions to *three*.

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agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, will meet and censure me and my council.....My lords, the bishops," said he, putting his hand to his hat, "I may thank you that these men plead for my supremacy, but if once you were out and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy, for 'no bishop, no king.'* Well, Doctor, have you any more to say?"—(Dr. Reynolds) "No more if it please your majesty."—"If this be all your party has to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." There spoke, we cannot doubt, the genuine spirit of the conference. The bishops, as they went home, must have congratulated one another on having found a sovereign who entered so completely into their views.

The third day's conference. Court of High Commission.

The third day's conference was held on the Wednesday following, and attended by many civilians as well as the divines, inasmuch as the Court of High Commission was to be the principal subject of debate. The King said he had heard that the parties named in the commission were *too many* and *too mean*. The archbishop answered, that if they were not many he should be forced oftentimes to sit alone, and he was obliged to have some of lower

* "We may smile," says Mr. Disraeli, "at his lively conference at Hampton Court; but he knew well the men of parity, who were for modelling the government each man according to his particular notion; the rabid Presbyters, who, howling at the surplice as a rag of prelacy, and dashing into pieces the idolatry of painted glass, aimed at nothing short of abolishing the sovereignty and hierarchy altogether."—Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 25.

rank, whose attendance he could better compel. Here one of the lay lords broke out with a hearty denunciation of the Court as like the Spanish Inquisition, and condemned the oath *ex officio*. Whitgift replied, that on matters which touched life, liberty, or scandal, the accused person might refuse the oath. The King immediately set himself to defend this most tyrannical mode of proceeding, of making the accused person clear himself on oath. So heartily did he speak for it, that the venerable archbishop (we write it with pain) exclaimed, "Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit." Bancroft, not to be outdone, sank upon his knees, and cried, "I protest my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of His singular mercy hath given us such a King, as since Christ's time hath not been seen." Upon this followed much discourse between the King, the bishops, and the lords, about the high commission, excommunications, &c.

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The King argues for it. Whitgift and Bancroft applaud him.

The Nonconformist advocates were then called in to hear the decisions which had been arrived at in all the matters which they had brought forward. They soon learnt what they were to expect. "I see," said his majesty, "the exceptions are matters of weakness, therefore, if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will be won betimes. If indiscreet, better they were removed, for by their factions many are driven to be Papists. From you, Dr. Reynolds, I expect obedience and humility (the marks of honest and good men), and that you would persuade others abroad by your example."

The decisions of the conference announced.

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Upon this Dr. Reynolds made a submissive speech,* but Mr. Chaderton puts in a word for some ministers in Lancashire, begging that they may be excused wearing the surplice and using the cross in baptism. The King is at first inclined to grant the request, but Bancroft seeing instantly that if this were done, all the advantage gained by the Church party at the conference would be lost, came to the rescue. "If this be granted, all Nonconformists will make the same request, and things will be worse than they were before." At this the King drew back. Mr. Knewstubbs, not seeing the change that had come over him, thought it an opportune time to make the same request for some ministers in Suffolk. The King replied sharply, "Sir, you show yourself an uncharitable man. You, forsooth, must prefer the credits of a few private men before the peace of the Church. Let them conform themselves, or they shall hear of it."

Requests made by Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Knewstubbs.

Conference ended.

"The King ended the conference," says Collier, with a very affecting discourse."† Upon hearing it, Dr. Bancroft exclaimed, "God's goodness be blest for your majesty, and give health and prosperity to your highness, your gracious Queen, the young Prince, and all the royal issue."

* The King says of the Puritan divines, "Nor did those who seemed to affect such alteration, when they heard the contrary arguments, greatly insist upon it, but seemed to be satisfied themselves, and to undertake within reasonable time to satisfy all others."—Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii., 61. Thus, too, says Dr. Montague: "Dr. Reynolds and the rest were all exceedingly well satisfied."—Nicholls's *Progresses*, i., 316.

† Collier, vii., 308.

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Of those engaged in this conference,* Fuller says that it was observed that "Whitgift spake most gravely; Bancroft (*when out of passion*) most politicly; Bilson most learnedly; and of the divines, Reynolds most largely; Knewstubbs most affectionately, Chaderton most sparingly." The King himself says, "We found mighty and vehement informations supported with weak and slender proofs," and declares that the few changes which were made were rather by way of explanation than alteration.† Dr. Sparks is said to have been converted by the advocates of conformity, as he shortly afterwards proved by setting forth a treatise on unity and conformity. Neal, the Puritan historian, thus comments: "Thus ended this mock conference, for it deserves no better name, all things being concluded privately between the King and the bishops before the Puritans were brought upon the stage, to be made a spectacle to their enemies, and borne down, not with calm reason and argument, but with the royal authority, I approve or I dissent; the King making himself both judge and party."‡ The conference, however, had one good

Remarks of Neal and Fuller.

* Fuller, b. x., i., 20.

† Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 58.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 29. The Puritan advocate is not so severe as our great philosophical historian. "In the accounts that we read of this meeting, we are alternately struck with wonder at the indecent and partial behaviour of the King, and at the abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents. It was easy for a monarch and eighteen Churchmen to claim the victory, be the merits of the dispute what they might, over four abashed and intimidated adversaries." — Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., 292. This is evidently too harsh and severe a judgment.

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effect, thus quaintly expressed by Fuller: "Whereas it was hitherto disputable whether the north, where he long lived, or the south, whither he lately came, should prevail most on the King's judgment in Church government, this doubt was now clearly decided. Henceforth, many *cripples in conformity* were cured of their former halting therein, and such as knew not their own till they knew the King's mind in the matter, for the future quietly digested the ceremonies of the Church."*

The alterations made in the Prayer Book.

Upon the termination of the conference, the King issued a commission to certain of the bishops to make the following alterations in the Book of Common Prayer:—

(1.) In the Rubric of Absolution, "Remission of Sins" to be added.

(2.) In the Rubric for Private Baptism, the words, "let them that be present," to be changed into "let the *lawful minister*, and them that be present," and two other alterations, with the same object, to be made in the other Rubrics.

(3.) In the Rubric of Confirmation, to make a change. Elizabeth's Prayer Book had "Confirmation, wherein is contained a catechism for children." This was now changed into, "The order of Confirmation, or laying on of hands upon children baptised, and able to render an account of their faith according to the catechism following."†

(4.) "Jesus said," to be printed in italics in the

* Fuller, b. x.

† This was changed in the last review, to "laying on of hands upon those that are baptized and come to years of discretion."

Gospel for the second Sunday after Easter, and the words "to his disciples," omitted.

(5). Thanksgivings to be added "For Rain," "For Fair Weather," "For Plenty," "For Peace and Victory;" and "For deliverance from the Plague." A Prayer for the "Queen and Royal Family," and a petition in the Litany to the same effect.

(6.) An addition to be made to the Catechism of the questions and answers concerning the Sacraments.*

Besides these alterations which were carried out, there were others agreed upon, some of which "either were not carried down to the last digestion, or else recalled afterwards."† The whole are given by Strype in a document containing fifteen heads, which is said to have been drawn up by Bancroft.‡ The only other point relating to the Liturgy mentioned in this paper, is with regard to the reading of parts of the Apocrypha. It had been agreed that "the Apocrypha that had any repugnancy to the Canonical Scripture, should not be read, but other places chosen." The changes made in the table of lessons on this ground were the following: "To August 26, this note was added—The Thirteenth of Daniel, touching the history of Susanna, is to be read unto these words, 'And King Astyages.' The same day at evening prayers the

* Collier's *Church History*, vii., 307. Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 216-17.

† Collier, u. s.

‡ Strype's *Whitgift*, 575.

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Thirtieth Chapter of Proverbs was substituted for the Fourteenth of Daniel, concerning Bel and the Dragon. On October 1, instead of the Fifth Chapter of Tobit, a portion of the Sixth of Exodus was appointed at morning prayer; and in the evening, the Twentieth of Joshua was substituted for the Sixth of Tobit. On October 2, the Twenty-second Chapter of Joshua was to be read for the Eighth of Tobit; and on November 17, the Forty-sixth Chapter of Ecclesiasticus was to be read as far as the words, "After this he told."* The other points in this paper are: That bishops should in all important matters be assisted by some of their Presbyters; that the High Commission Court should be reformed, and only deal in principal causes; lay excommunications be discontinued; a more learned ministry and better maintenance for them be provided; double benefices discouraged; schools and preachers planted in Ireland, Wales, and the borders of Scotland; the Articles be explained and enlarged, and no man to preach against them; a uniform translation of the Bible be made; Popish and pestilent books be inhibited; all to receive the Communion once a year. "Lastly, for matters of ceremonies and order, being things indifferent, that the rule of the Apostle be kept, that all things be done to edification, that so neither grave, sober, and peaceable persons be not too far urged at first, nor turbulent

* Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, p. 217. I have verified these changes in the calendar by reference to a copy of the very rare Prayer Book of 1604, in the Cathedral Library at Lincoln.

and unquiet persons and busy spirits to do what they list."* If this were really drawn up in Bancroft's hand, it can scarcely be said to agree with his own after conduct, and it is a pity that he did not better remember and observe the excellent advice which he here puts on record.

* Strype's *Whitgift*, u. s. Collier's *Records*, No. 100, v. 9.,

CHAPTER III.

Chap. III. 1604. Inauguration of a new period in Church history—King James's view of the Church differs from that of Elizabeth—General change of views on this subject—Death of Cartwright and Whitgift—Cartwright—Archbishop Whitgift—King's Proclamation authorizing the new Prayer Book—Puritans see that they have no hope of gaining any more concessions—King's Speech to the Parliament—Spirit of opposition in the Commons—Act to restrain the Crown from receiving Church lands—Act for Processes in Ecclesiastical courts to run in the King's name—Meeting of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury—Bancroft's Book of Canons—Foundation of Ripon Chapter—Petition of the Family of Love—Disquiet of the Scotch Kirk—Appointment of Bancroft to be archbishop—His prompt measures—The judges consulted on the law—Deprivation of Dr. Burgess—The abridgment of the Lincolnshire ministers—Some of the Puritan ministers determine to secede—The Brownists in Holland—But most of them think it unlawful—General discontent—Persecution of the Papists—The Gunpowder Plot—Oath of allegiance—Blackwell the archpriest—Severe laws against Papists—Prohibitions issued by the judges—Bancroft's *articuli cleri*—Answer of the judges.

Inauguration of a new period of Church history.

THE conference at Hampton Court inaugurates the second great period in the history of the English Church. The first is the period of Reformation. Beginning with the change in religion, it shows us through the long reign of Elizabeth, the new system contending with its difficulties, and waging

war with its opponents, under the support of the strong arm of almost despotic power. But Elizabeth's conception of the Church was a thoroughly Erastian one. She upheld it, but she controlled it. She imprisoned the primate, and threatened to "unfrock" him; she looked upon the clergy as state officers, and on Puritans as seditious and rebellious subjects. The Queen would never admit a conference. She would have thought it just as reasonable for rogues to have a voice in making the laws on stealing, as for Nonconformists to be heard as to the difficulties in subscription. Chap. III. 1604.

King James looked at Church matters from a different point of view. He was a theologian by taste and study. He hated Puritans as much as his predecessor, but, apart from his personal dislike to them, his antipathy was more that of a polemical divine than a ruler. Writing on the subject of the conference, he complains not of their insubordination as Elizabeth would have done, but of their bad arguments. "They fled me from argument to argument without ever answering me directly (*ut est eorum moris*), that I was forced to tell them that if any of them when boys had disputed thus in the college, the moderator would have fetched them up, and applied the rod to their buttocks."* The Puritans indeed were not likely to be more mildly treated under James than under Elizabeth, only they were now persecuted on theological grounds, as heretics, rather than traitors. And this marks

* King James to Mr. Blake.—Strype's *Whitgift*, Appendix, No. 46.

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the difference of the periods. King James did not regard the Church simply as an engine of the State, but suffered it to range itself side by side with the throne, joined in a community of interest, upon the principle of "No bishop, no king." The Church of the Reformation under Elizabeth, looked to the foreign divines as champions and authorities; the Church of the Anglo-Catholic period, under James, looked to fathers and schoolmen. It was no longer attempted to establish the note of *succession*, by jumping from Vigilantius to the Albigeois, and through Waldo to Jerome of Prague; but a more Catholic view prevailed. The answer now given to the taunt, "Where was your Church before Luther's time," was that it was in the Latin Church, which was now accounted a true Church, though defiled with superstition. A succession of doctrine from the great early fathers, never wholly obscured in the worst times of Popish ignorance: a succession of outward order by an unbroken line of bishops, are now held to prove the Catholicity of the Anglican Church. Soon Calvin's last stronghold of influence, in the doctrines of predestination and election, is weakened and overthrown. The Church of England asserts and argues out a theology of her own. And as if to prove that our Church history is now entering a new epoch, coincidently with the conference at Hampton Court, two of the great champions of the old struggles of the Reformation-period now quit the scene. A fortnight before the conference, died Thomas Cartwright, the most learned and most temperate of the

King James's view of the Church differs from that of Elizabeth.

General change of views on this matter.

Death of Cartwright and Whitgift.

Puritan disputants against the ceremonies, and six weeks after it was closed, died Archbishop Whitgift,* "one of the worthiest men," says Fuller, "that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy." Chap. III. 1604.

Thomas Cartwright was born in Hertfordshire, in 1535, and entered Clare Hall, at Cambridge, in 1547, where he became a hard student, "never sleeping above five hours in a night." He was afterwards chosen Fellow of St. John's.† In the reign of Queen Mary, he left the university and became a lawyer's clerk; but upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth he resumed his theological studies, and was chosen Fellow of Trinity College in the year 1560. Nine years afterwards, having become a leading man in the university, he was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity. It was now that he became involved in his disputes with Whitgift on the subject of Church government. Several treatises were written on both sides, displaying great learning; but Whitgift appears to have taken rather an unfair advantage of his opponent in using his academical power, as Vice-Chancellor, to deprive him of his professorship and procure his expulsion from the university. Cartwright went to Geneva, and afterwards became preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp. King James invited him to be professor in his University of St. Andrewes, but he declined it. He returned to England and was imprisoned, but was at length released, on promising not to write against the Church, and was Cartwright.

* February 29, 1604.

† Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii., 360.

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presented by the Earl of Leicester to the governorship of a hospital at Warwick, where he seems to have lived comfortably and in great esteem, quietly conforming to the Church, and suffered by Archbishop Whitgift to preach without molestation.* "The archbishop," says Walton, "gave him a licence to preach, upon promises not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation; and this promise he kept during his life, which ended 1604, the bishop surviving him but some few months; each ending his days in perfect charity with the other." † It is said of him by Sir H. Yelverton, "That he seriously lamented the unnecessary trouble that he had caused in the Church by the schism he had been the great fomenter of, and wished that he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways." ‡

Archbishop Whitgift.

Archbishop Whitgift was extremely nervous about the meeting of the new Parliament, and apprehending some great danger to the Church, wished that he might not live to see it, "desiring rather to give an account of his bishopric to God than to men." § With a view of discussing the measures which were to be introduced on the part of the Church, he had appointed a meeting in the Bishop of London's house at Fulham; and going to

* Neal; Fuller; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii., 360—363.

† Walton's *Life of Hooker*; Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv. 491.

‡ Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 592.

§ Fuller, x., ii., 1.

attend it by water, in the raw February air he caught a cold which soon produced paralysis of the right side and the loss of speech. He was carried at once to Lambeth, and the next day visited by the King. His lips, touched by the palsy, failed to articulate anything save the words which were nearest his heart—"Pro ecclesiâ Dei." These he repeated with uplifted eyes, accompanied by the feeble motion of his unpalsied arm. They were his last words. Having in vain attempted to write, the pen falling from his hand, he resigned himself with a sigh to the all-powerful touch of death, and on Wednesday, the last day of February, "died quietly, like a lamb." * Chap. III. 1604.

Few men have played a more prominent part in Church history than Archbishop Whitgift; and scarce any, in spite of the difficult times on which he fell, have left a better name behind them. "This good man," says Wilson, a contemporary writer of Puritan tendencies, "expired in David's fullness of days, leaving a name like a sweet perfume behind him."† He was a Lincolnshire man, born at Great Grimsby; and he afterwards returned to his native county as dean of the cathedral church. At Cambridge, as Master of Trinity, he was long the leading man of the University. The Queen admired his learning and eloquence as her chaplain, and made him Bishop of Worcester. He might have been earlier Archbishop, had he not had the

* Sir G. Paul's *Life of Whitgift;* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 619.

† Wilson's *Life of James I.*, p. 8.

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good feeling to refuse the Queen's offer while the disgraced Grindal was yet alive. In the difficult post of primate he showed a remarkable vigour, beginning with a searching imposition of a new test of conformity, and never being turned aside from his fixed purpose by fear or favour. He was particularly admirable for his bold, straightforward policy. "He regarded not," says one, not disposed to flatter him, "the intercession of courtiers, but was steady to the laws."* As soon as by his strictness he had made lenity possible, he gladly turned to it,† and the latter part of his administration is marked by peace and quietness. He was noble in his charities, as he was magnificent in his state and hospitality; and if he trained soldiers for the field, he also trained scholars for the pulpit. "Yea, his bounty was too large to be contained within the narrow seas," says Fuller; "Beza, Drusius, and other foreign Protestant divines tasting freely thereof."‡ The Queen always greatly favoured him, though he did not shrink from reproving her. "And this good man," says Walton, "deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him, for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles."§

* Neal, ii., 32.

† Fuller's *Worthies* and *Church History*; Camden's *Elizabeth*.

‡ Fuller, x., ii., 6.

§ Walton's *Life of Hooker*; Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 489; Strype's *Whitgift*, 578-9. "He was very devout, merciful, free from malice or practice of revenge," says Howes, *Chronicle*, 835. Camden's character is similar. Sir J. Harinton says of him, "He carried himself in that mild and charitable course, that he was not only approved greatly by all the clergy of England,

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King's proclamation authorizing the new Prayer Book.

The termination of the Conference was followed, March 5th, by a proclamation of the King, in which he set forth that some of those who misliked the state of religion here established, transported with humour, had begun such proceedings as did rather raise a scandal in the Church than take offence away; that he found strong remonstrances supported with such slender proofs, that both himself and his council perceived that there was no ground for any change in those things which were most loudly clamoured against; that the Book of Common Prayer and the doctrine of the Established Church were both unexceptionable; and as to the rites and ceremonies, they had the practice of the primitive Church to plead in their defence.....He doubts not but that all his subjects, both lay and clerical, will receive the Book of Common Prayer as it is now set forth, with due regard and conformity. But notwithstanding this favourable opinion, his Majesty has conceived it necessary to publish his authorizing the book; and by this, his proclamation, requires and enjoins all men, both lay and clerical, to conform to it, as being the only public form of serving God, established and allowed in this realm. All archbishops, bishops, and public

but even by some of those whom, with his pen, he might seem to have wounded. I mean those called Puritans, of whom he won divers, by sweet persuasions, to conformity."—*Brief Survey of the State of the Church of England.* Yet Whitgift is frequently represented by partisan writers as the most hardened of tyrannical oppressors.—See Macaulay's *Essays;* Marsden's *Early Puritans;* Dr. Vaughan's *Revolutions in History,* &c. For an able sketch of Whitgift, see Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses,* ii., 369—379.

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officers, are commanded to see the proclamation executed, and to punish all offenders pursuant to the laws of the realm; and all persons are bid to leave off expecting and desiring novelties and alterations.* This was a formal intimation to the whole nation that the King would have nothing more changed in religion. Whatever hopes the Puritans had conceived, must now have been dispelled. They saw themselves, if they scrupled to conform, put upon the same footing, if not a less favourable one, than the Popish recusants. King and bishops were both set firmly against them. "It was a hard question," says Wilson, "whether the Jesuits, whose principles would advance their greatness, or these that would pluck it down, were most odious." †

Puritans see that they have no hope of gaining any more concessions.

In the Proclamation summoning the new Parliament, the King dictated to the people what sort of representatives they should choose, and prescribed penalties of fine or imprisonment to those who should not attend to his proclamation.‡ This was carrying matters with somewhat too high a hand,

* Collier, vii., 310; Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, xi., 56; Strype's *Whitgift*, 585-6-7. The King's authorization of the Book of Common Prayer, with the changes made in it, without referring it to Convocation, was an irregular act, and a stretch of the royal prerogative. "We are not now affected by the question," says Lathbury, "because the Book of Common Prayer, in its present form, was duly authorized by Convocation in 1661."—Lathbury's *Convocation*, p. 217.

† *Life of King James*, p. 11.

‡ "Take this king's reign, from beginning to end, and you shall find proclamations current coin, and the people took them for good payment a great while, till the multitude of them lessened their valuation."—Wilson, p. 11.

and naturally produced a spirit of insubordination and independence in the Parliament. Upon its meeting (March 19th) it was addressed by the King in a speech, which is thus described by Hume: "Though few productions of the age surpass this performance, either in style or matter, it wants that majestic brevity and reserve which becomes a king in his addresses to the great council of the nation." In the course of it, he speaks much, as might be expected, on matters connected with religion. Of the Roman Catholics he speaks tenderly, for his policy at this time was to conciliate the laity among them. He owns the Roman communion for his mother church, though under the disadvantage of some blemishes and corruptions. "I was never," says he, "of a persecuting temper, and if the judges have formerly pressed the punishment of recusancy further than the laws intended, I desire the present Parliament would think of a remedy for that grievance." These words must have encouraged the highest hopes: but then he turns to the priests. "There are two things," he says, "insufferable in them"—the doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, and the embroiling of civil government and the murder of kings. If they will give up these, he holds out hopes of his tolerating them. Of the Puritans, he speaks much more severely. He calls them novelists, and describes them "rather as a sect than a society of Christians." Their schemes of polity, he says, are very untoward, and they are scarcely to be endured in a well-regulated commonwealth. As to his intentions of dealing with them, he refers the

King's speech to the Parliament.

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members to his proclamations on the subject.* This speech must have been extremely distasteful to the House of Commons, containing as it did a strong leaven of Puritanism. "In the lower House," says Lingard, "a formidable party was marshalled against him, composed of men who, in the close of the last reign, had dared to advocate the rights of the subject against the abuse of the prerogative." †

Spirit of opposition in the Commons.

Act to restrain the Crown from receiving Church lands.

But perhaps it was to the spirit of opposition to the Crown which was thus awakened, that the Church owes an act passed in this Parliament, very important and salutary for its interests. By the 13th of Elizabeth, all subjects had been disabled from accepting Church lands, but the power of doing so was still continued to the Crown. Hence arose grievous abuses. "Some potent courtier," says Fuller, "first covertly contracts with a bishop (some whereof, though *spiritual* in title were too *temporal* in truth, as more minding their private profit than the public good of the Church) to pass over such a proportion of land to the Crown. This done, the said courtier begs the land of the Queen,

* Collier, vii., 316.

† Lingard, vi., 24. These were the men to whom the proclamation of July 16th was addressed: "Notwithstanding at the late assembly of our Parliament there wanted not many that renewed, with no little earnestness, the questions before determined (at Hampton Court), and many more as well, about the Book of Common Prayer, as other matters of Church government, and importuned for our assent to many alterations therein.... Who, we doubt not, but will receive great satisfaction, when they understand that after so much impugning there appeareth no cause why the form of the service of God, wherein they have been nourished so many years, should be changed."—Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 62.

and so covetousness came to her desired end, though forced to go a longer journey, and fain to fetch a further compass about."* As instances of this scandalous proceeding, Fuller gives two remarkable ones: Caldwell, Bishop of Salisbury, allowed Sir Walter Raleigh thus to filch from the see the manor of Sherborne;† and the See of Exeter was defrauded of a main part of its revenue by a Killigrew gaining possession of the manor of Crediton from Bishop Babington. Now, however, the King and his successors were incapacitated from having any Church lands conveyed to them otherwise than for three lives or twenty-one years, and thus "those of the clergy, who wanted either honesty or courage, were disabled from impoverishing the Church."‡ This considerable boon to the Church§ was probably counterbalanced in

* Fuller, x., 2, 9.

† "As for the knight who carried off the spolia opima of this bishopric, having gotten Sherborne Castle, Park, and Parsonage, he was in those days of so great a favour with the Queen, that I may boldly say that with less suit than he was fain to make to her, ere he could perfect this his purchase, and with less money than he bestowed since in Sherborne, he might without offence to the Church or State have compassed a much better purchase."—Sir J. Harinton's *Brief View of the State of the Church of England*, p. 89. Raleigh also tried hard to extract the manor of Banwell from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and actually succeeded in getting Wiveliscomb. As for the see of Exeter, Sir J. Harinton says, "It hath but two manors left of two and twenty."—*Ib.*, p. 126. Caldwell, Bishop of Salisbury, died a beggar, "so that his friends were fain to bury him suddenly and secretly."—*Ib.*, p. 92

‡ Collier, vii., 318.

§ This act," says Heylin, "was seasonably procured by Bishop Bancroft, to prevent the begging of the Scots, who other-

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the opinions of some of the divines of the upper House, by the revival of the statute of Edward VI., which enacts that all processes, citations, judgments, &c., in any ecclesiastical courts shall be issued in the King's name and under the King's seal of arms. Doubtless, in the opinion of many, this was a backward step towards the old Erastian views of the Reformation, and in the practice of the bishops it soon began to be disregarded.* Two other statutes of Queen Mary were also repealed, the effect of which was to legitimate the marriage of the clergy,† and to clear the election of bishops from some difficulties.

Act for processes in ecclesiastical courts to run in the King's name.

Meeting of Convocation of Province of Canterbury.

On the next day after the Parliament (March 20th), met the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, presided over by Bancroft, Bishop of London, under the commission of the dean and chapter of the metropolitan see ‡ and the license of the King. In the eleventh session the president delivered to the prolocutor of the lower House a book of canons, which had been collected by himself out of the articles, injunctions, and synodical acts passed and published in the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. These were presented to the House on May 2nd, and about the same

Bancroft's book of canons.

wise would have picked the Church to the very bone."—Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 375.

* Neal, ii., 35. See below, the account of the legalization of processes running in the names of the bishops, an. 1638.

† Elizabeth's peculiar views about the marriage of the clergy, probably induced her to retain this statute on the book, though, of course, it was practically repealed in her reign.

‡ Collier, vii., 319.

time some Puritan divines presented a petition for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer. Instead, however, of this being received, the authors of it were admonished to be obedient, and to conform before Midsummer-day next.* The divines then set themselves to work in earnest to consider the canons. That they either laboured very assiduously, or passed over some matters rather expeditiously, may be inferred from the fact that between the beginning of May and the beginning of July, 141 laws, binding the members of the Church in the province under pain of excommunication, were passed. The debates could not certainly have been so thick and frequent as they would have been in our day. On May 23rd, however, there was a debate in the upper House on the point of the use of the cross in Baptism, the effect of which may be seen in the 30th canon, which is a long argumentative defence of that ancient custom. Bishop Rudde, of St. David's, pleaded the Puritan objections against the use of the symbol, in a temperate and able speech, praying that learned, grave, and honest men, who were scrupulous only upon some ceremonies, might be excused from an absolute subscription. This, however, was by no means in

* "A petition, by Egerton, Fleetwood, Wotton, and others, for reformation of the book of Common Prayer, imparted to the lower House in presence of the petitioners. The Bishop of London and bishops admonish the petitioners to be obedient, and conform together with their adherents before St. John Baptist next, 13th Session. A committee of both Houses to consider the book of canons and to despatch it."—*Tanner MSS.*, vol. 282, quoted by Lathbury, *Convocation*, 203; Collier, vii., 319.

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accordance with the temper of the synod, and after having been answered by the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and Lincoln, and forbidden by the president to reply, he gave up the point.* The canon which bore most directly on the present state of the Church was the 36th, which embodied Whitgift's three articles of conformity, and forbade any one to preach, catechize, or lecture, without having "willingly and *ex animo*" subscribed to them. There are many others of the canons also specially directed against the Puritans, as that which denounces excommunication against whosoever shall affirm that the government of the Church of England by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, is antichristian (7), and against the authors and abettors of schism (9, 10, 11, 12). The canons, too, which discountenance strange preachers (50, 51, 52), and opposition between preachers (53), which ordain that preachers and lecturers should administer the Sacrament at least once a year (56), and that the Sacraments are not to be refused at the hands of "unpreaching ministers," † have reference to the Puritan contests. There is one also which is noted by Lingard as having a specially hard pressure upon the Roman Catholic recusants. "Missionaries," he says, "sometimes eluded detection under the disguise of tutors; therefore, it

* Neal, ii., 39.

† "At this time," says Lathbury, "there were two licenses—one authorizing to perform the duties of the Church in general; the other, a special license to preach. Even beneficed men were sometimes unable to preach."—Lathbury's *Convocation*, 207; See *Report of Diocese of Meath in Elrington's Life of Usher*.

was provided that no man should teach even the rudiments of grammar, in public or in private, without the license of the diocesan." * This large body of laws regulates all matters connected with the discipline of the Church, as the Thirty-nine Articles declare its doctrine; and having been properly ratified by the King, it is binding upon the clergy of the Church of England.† As, however, these canons have never received the sanction of Parliament, it has been decided by the judges on several occasions that they do not bind the laity,‡ and we agree with the wish of the present excellent Bishop of St. Asaph, that "it is much to be desired that they were remodelled and sanctioned by legal enactment." § A code of laws, which neither the

* Canon 77. This was also an enactment of the Statute Law.—Lingard, vi., 26.

† The canons made by the Convocation of Canterbury were, by the King's Letters Patent, made binding upon York as well. This had been done before by Elizabeth. The province of York, to save their independence, petitioned in the next Convocation for the power to make canons; and license having been granted, they then passed the same canons which before had been passed by Canterbury. Ordinarily, the York Convocation, in this reign, did no business whatever, not even going so far as to appoint a prolocutor.—See Wake *On Convocation*, pp. 507, 508.

‡ Lingard, vi., 27. See note. That is not *proprio vigore*. Lord Hardwick's decision is the one generally appealed to as stating the law of the case. "We are all of opinion," says he, "that the canons of 1604 do not *proprio vigore* bind the laity. I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority, for there are many provisions contained in these canons which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England, received and allowed here, which in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity."—Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, 231.

§ Short's *Church History*, p. 356.

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governors attempt to enforce nor the governed to obey, if it be not a practical grievance, is yet a disfiguring anomaly. The Convocation having passed the Book of Canons, was prorogued on July 9th, and on the 16th came forth a proclamation, warning all ministers to be ready to conform before the last day of November, or to take the consequences.*

Foundation of Ripon Chapter.

A few days before the proroguing of Convocation, the assembled divines were able to congratulate one another that the King's zeal for the Church extended further than mere words. On July 4, an act in the name of the Queen was sealed and duly executed, founding a chapter of a dean, and seven prebendaries, with a stipend of £247 per annum, out of crown lands, at Ripon in Yorkshire.† This reveals to us one of the many gross and scandalous robberies to which the Church had been subjected at the Reformation. The nobles and gentry of the West Riding, the most munificent of English churchmen, had formerly erected and endowed a fair collegiate church for the use and instruction of the considerable town of Ripon.‡ When, however, Church plunder was rife, at the dissolution of the abbeys, the great spoiler laid his hands equally upon the princely revenues of Fountains, and on the modest endowment of the parochial clergy of the city of Ripon. It was easy to appropriate; much more difficult was it to wrest back any, even a moderate share, of the plunder for the service of

* Cardwell's *Doc. Annals.*, ii., 63.
† Collier, vii., 319.
‡ Fuller, x., ii., 15. Nicholls's *Progresses of King James*, i., 441.

religion. Elizabeth who loved Church lands as well as her father, turned a deaf ear to the petitions of the people of Ripon, though backed by the recommendations of many successive presidents of the north. At the beginning of the new reign they renewed their request, and either through the good offices of Queen Anne, to whom they addressed themselves, or from the ready liberality of the King, they obtained a new foundation. Chap. III. 1604.

A very curious petition was about this time presented to the King by a body calling themselves the Family of Love. The object of their prayer is, that the king will be pleased to read for himself their books which set forth their opinions, which were written by a German author named Henry Nicholas, and that he will not confound them with the Puritans. Upon these they fall with a ferocity which strangely belies the name which they had adopted. They declare that it is "most meet" that *they* should be punished; they call them the "disobedient Puritans, and those of their heady humour who prefer pharasaical and self-chosen outward traditions and grounds, and hypocritical righteousness, to the performing of judgment, mercy, and faith; whose malice hath for twenty-five years and upwards, with very many untrue suggestions and most foul errors, and odious crimes, sought our overthrow and destruction." It is to be hoped that these poor men, who call themselves unlearned, were not treated in as severe a fashion as they evidently wish the Puritans to be. It seems, however, to have been impossible at that time that any one Petition of the Family of Love.

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should defend himself without violently attacking others. Mr. Rutherford, a Scotch writer, in answering and commenting upon this petition of the Family of Love, very unnecessarily accuses the English bishops of being familists, and maliciously asserts "that few of the prelatical way refuted them."* This may perhaps have been a little overboiling of spite of the Scotch Presbyterian against the Southern Church now basking in the beams of royal favour. The Kirk of Scotland was, in fact, restless and disquieted. The meeting of the general assembly had been prevented,† and the chief ministers learnt that the King was bent upon the union, while they were doubtful whether sufficient safeguard would be provided for the maintenance of the pure discipline of the Presbyterian Kirk. They saw that the King would hold no communication with any but the titular bishops, and they learnt from Mr. Galloway's account of the Hampton Court Conference, that he was not inclined to show much favour to those who held similar views to their own in England. Hence they were suspicious and disquieted.‡

Disquiet of the Scotch Kirk.

Those too who had at heart the interests of the English Church, must have been now becoming anxious at the long vacancy of the See of Canterbury. Whether it were that the King hesitated in the line of policy which he should choose, or was

* Fuller, x., ii., 21.

† In spite of the King's prohibition, some twenty-one ministers had persisted in meeting at Aberdeen on the day originally appointed, and adjourning to September.

‡ Calderwood's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, 480, sq.

equally balanced between the merits of different candidates,* or that it was found convenient for the interests of the Crown to keep the see vacant, to put in practice the power of exchange of Impropriations for Church lands, which the law of Elizabeth allowed †—no appointment was made to the primacy for upwards of nine months. On December 4, however, Bancroft, Bishop of London, was promoted to that important post. The appointment showed at once the policy which was intended. Bancroft was distinguished not so much for his theological attainments, as for the fiery energy of his disposition, the uncompromising spirit which he showed towards Nonconformity, and the zeal with which he sought to push the claims of the Church to the utmost point. Born in Lancashire, and educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, he had been advanced by the favour of Sir Christopher Hatton, and having become one of the archbishop's chaplains, had distinguished himself by his famous sermon at Paul's Cross, on *Trying the Spirits*. His treatises, a *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, and on *Some Dangerous Positions in Church and State*, show a determined hostility to the Puritans, which indeed was fully exemplified in his six years' administration of the primacy.

Appointment of Bancroft to be archbishop.

* "There was a question between Toby Matthews and Bancroft," says Sir J. Harinton, "but his Majesty knowing that the charge 'Feed my sheep' requires as well as pastoral courage of driving in the stray sheep and driving out the infectious, as of feeding the sound, made choice of the Bishop of London."—*Brief View of the State of the Church*, p. 11.

† See Short's *Hist. of Church*, § 404.

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His prompt measures.

On December 10, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hutton, Archbishop of York, received letters from the Council, stating that as the time was now expired which by his majesty's proclamation of July 16, last, was prescribed and limited to all those of the clergy for the conforming of themselves unto the laws and orders of the Church government established within this realm....." such is the great care and zeal of his most excellent majesty.....as we cannot omit to give you knowledge of the expectation his majesty hath of your proceedings therein.....his majesty expecteth that from henceforth without delay, where advice prevaileth not, authority shall compel, and that the laws shall be put into execution where admonition taketh not effect." On December 22, Archbishop Bancroft forwarded the letter of the Council to each of his suffragans, together with another letter of his own, directing them how to proceed. They were exhorted to observe " a uniform kind of proceeding," and to follow exactly the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh canons of the last convocation. Of the " disobedient ministers," some were already placed in the Church, some not. With regard to the latter, subscription was to be strictly enforced before they were admitted to any " ecclesiastical function." Of those who were already placed, some utterly refused conformity and subscription. These were to be at once silenced, and deprived under the powers of the Act 1 Elizabeth. Some promised conformity, but were unwilling to subscribe again. " Of these, forasmuch as the near affinity of con-

formity and subscription gives apparent hopes, that being men of sincerity, they will in a short time frame themselves to a more constant course, and subscribe to that again which by their practice they testify, not to be repugnant to the Word of God, your lordship may *respite* their subscription for *some short time*."* This, however, was not giving any great latitude. It was determined to apply the *ex animo* test unflinchingly to all, even to those who were contented to acquiesce in a substantial conformity. "Some ministers of consideration," says Collier, "lost their livings to preserve their conscience. I say to preserve their conscience, for it is a hard matter to bring everybody's understanding to the common standard, and make all honest men of the same mind."† Chap. III. 1604.

Three hundred ministers according to the Puritan statement, forty-nine according to the archbishop's list, were silenced or deprived by the working of the *ex animo* subscription. In order to make sure of his ground, as the canons had not been confirmed by Parliament, the archbishop had acted cautiously. The King had been persuaded to summon the judges to the Star Chamber, who were solemnly asked by the Lord Chancellor whether the depriving of ministers by the Court of High Commission for not observing the new canons were legal. They answered that it was, "the King having power, *without Parliament*, to make orders and constitutions for the government of the clergy, The judges consulted on the law.

* Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 69—77.

† Collier, vii., 321.

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and to deprive them if they obeyed not," and having also power to delegate this ecclesiastical prerogative and authority to commissioners. The judges were then asked whether it were an offence punishable to *petition* the King for the redress of grievances, real or supposed, as the Puritans had done. They answered that it was an offence "fineable at discretion, and very near treason and felony." "By these determinations," says Neal, "the whole body of the clergy are excluded the statute law of the land, for the King without Parliament may make what constitutions he pleases; his Majesty's High Commissioners may proceed upon these constitutions *ex officio*, without any forms of common law; and the subject may not open his complaints to the King, nor petition for relief without being fineable at pleasure, and coming within danger of treason or felony."*

Deprivation of Dr. Burgess.

The divine whose deprivation under the *ex animo* clause made the most noise at the time, was Dr. John Burgess, a Lincolnshire rector, who by some means or other had been appointed to preach before King James, and had taken occasion in his sermon to touch on the dangerous topic of the ceremonies. He said, "They were like the Roman senator's glasses, which were not worth a man's life or livelihood. A senator once invited Augustus Cæsar to a dinner, who, as he was coming to the feast heard

* *Puritans*, ii., 46. On the strength of this opinion of the judges about petitioning, ten of those ministers who had signed the Millenary Petition were actually committed to prison.—See Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 293.

a great outcry, and saw some company drawing a man after them that made that noise. The Emperor demanded the cause of that violence; it was answered, their master had condemned this man to the fish-ponds, for breaking a glass which he set a high value and esteem upon. Cæsar commanded a stay of the execution, and when he came to the house, he asked the senator whether he had glasses worth a man's life, who answered (being a great lover of such things) that he had glasses he valued at the price of a province. 'Let me see them,' said Augustus; and he brought him up to a room well furnished. The Emperor saw them, beautiful to the eye, but knew withal they might be the cause of much mischief, therefore he broke them all, with this expression, 'Better all these perish than one man.' I will leave it, said the preacher, to your Majesty to apply." And his Majesty did apply in such a manner that poor Dr. Burgess was soon afterwards committed to prison for his classical illustration, and upon the passing of the canons, being called upon to subscribe, and refusing, was deprived.* He then quietly took to the practice of physic, and grew to great repute in his new profession. Some time afterwards, having meanwhile been induced by the King, who seems to have taken a fancy to him, to conform, and even to write a book against his former friends in Lincolnshire, who had published a severe attack on the ceremonies, he was presented to the living of Sutton

* Wilson's *Life of James I.*, p. 11; Heylin's *Presbyterians*; Neal; Collier.

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Colefield in Warwickshire, and died there at a good old age.

The Abridgment of the Lincolnshire Ministers.

The *Abridgment of the Lincolnshire Ministers* takes a stronger and more uncompromising line against the ceremonies than had been taken by the earlier Puritans. Cartwright had argued that they were inconvenient, unseemly, objectionable, and so forth; the Lincolnshire ministers argue that they are altogether unlawful and sinful.* The following passage in their address is remarkable: "As there is danger in the use of these ceremonies in all congregations, so specially if they shall be brought *back again* into those where they have been long out of use, and received by such ministers as are known to have refused them heretofore." This implies a considerable prevalence of non-conformity in the country. Dr. Morton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, answered the *Abridgment* in a treatise called *A Defence of the Three Ceremonies of the Church of England*, to which the ministers replied in a tract called *The Three Nocent Ceremonies, &c.* This again was answered by Dr. Burgess. But the controversy was becoming too embittered for any treatise, however learned and temperate, to effect much good. The bishops were determined to use the weapon of power, so that it was not likely that they could prevail with the weapon of reason.

Some of the Puritan ministers determine to secede.

Many of the Puritan ministers came to the conclusion, "That if they could not enjoy their livings

* Collier's *Church History*, vii., 321. Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, &c., p. 133. Morton's *Defence of the Three Ceremonies*, p. 28.

in the Church without subscribing over again the three Articles, and declaring at the same time they did it willingly, and from their hearts, it was their duty to resign."* Chap. III. 1605.

In accordance with this resolution, many of them did resign, and passed into Holland, which had long been the refuge of all discontented religionists. Here they were straightway involved in disputes with the Brownists, just as bitter as those which they had left behind them in England. These fanciful sectarians were continually quarrelling among themselves, and splitting up again and again into little religious coteries, which waged war one against the other. Johnson, one of their leaders, excommunicated his own father and brother. Ainsworth, a minister, excommunicated Johnson. Johnson returned the compliment to Ainsworth. Mr. Smith, another of their leading men, in one of his prefaces, desires that "his last writings may be always taken for his present judgment;" and Mr. John Robinson, a Norfolk divine settled at Leyden, not only anathematized the Church of England, but the foreign reformed Churches also.† In these men the love of separating had become a positive The Brownists in Holland.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 61. It is a pity that these men could not lay to heart the wise exhortations of the pious Joseph Hall. "It is the valour of Christian teachers to oppose abuses, not to run away from them. Where shall you not thus find Babylon? How is it that our gnats are harder to swallow than their camels? The God of Heaven open your eyes that you may see the unjustice of the zeal that hath transported you—it had been a thousand times better to swallow a ceremony than to rend a Church."—*Letter to Mr. Smith and Mr. Rob.*

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 50, 51.

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mania, and there was small hope of any concord between them and the recruits of more moderate views who passed over to them during the stern administration of Bancroft. They were involved in a pitiable and miserable confusion. So great was the objection to forms of prayer, that they had come to object to forms of praise also. They resolved that every man may in the congregation "conceive his own matter in the act of praising, deliver it in prose or metre, as he lists himself, and in the same instant chant out in what tune soever, that which comes first into his own head. Which," says Heylin, "would be such a horrible confusion of tongues and voices, that hardly any howling or gnashing of teeth can be equal to it."* These discordant sounds, however, but too well agreed with the state in which these crackbrained men lived with one another. They disputed about everything. There was a great quarrel between two of them, whether Aaron's linen ephod were blue or sea-green colour—a question "which," says Heylin, "did not only trouble all the dyers in Amsterdam, but made good sport to all the world." At last, the climax of absurdity, as well as the utmost limit of separation, was reached, when one of them became a church of himself, and not being able to find any with whom he could agree, baptized himself, from which he got the name of a *se-baptist*.† Most of the English Puritans, however, frightened, perhaps, by the wild madness of the separatists, were for keeping within the pale of

But most of them think it unlawful.

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 379. † *Ibid.*, p. 380.

the Church, dreading the sin of schism if they should set up distinct communions. Some of the bishops were much more lenient to them than others,* and there were not wanting places wherein they were able to exercise their ministry peaceably, if they were not extreme or marked men. Chap. III. 1605.

Yet we cannot doubt that at this time there was a very general feeling of discontent and uneasiness throughout the country. The Puritan party accused the King of favouring Papists more than godly men who only desired to live according to the Scriptures; an accusation which the King thought it necessary to notice and answer in a speech in the Star Chamber. On the other side, the Romish recusants were disappointed, angry, and disquieted. Whatever favour had at first been shown to them had now been withdrawn, and the penal laws were put in full force against them. The legal fine of twenty pounds per month for recusancy had been suspended, but was now again demanded, and even the thirteen payments which were in arrear insisted on. To gratify the begging of the Scotch courtiers, the King had hit upon the ingenious device of assigning them a few rich Papists each, to make a profit out of. Against these they were at liberty to proceed at law in his name, unless the sufferers should submit to compound by the grant of an annuity for life, or the immediate payment of a considerable sum.† The

General discontent.

Persecution of the Papists.

* See notice of Bishop Vaughan, Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii., 451.

† See Lingard, who gives instances. Dodd's *Church Hist.*, iv., 42, note.

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search for missionaries and priests was now more actively prosecuted than ever, and chiefly by domiciliary visits made to private houses at night.* The weapons furnished by the new canons of the Church were brought into use by a letter of the primate, dated March 12, 1605. Bishops were required to excommunicate all recusants within their dioceses, to certify their names to the chancery, and to sue for writs *de excommunicato capiendo;* by which the delinquents would become liable to imprisonment and outlawry; incapable of recovering debts, or rents, or damages for injuries; of making sales or purchases, or of conveying their estates by deed or will.†

The Gunpowder Plot.

But there is danger in reducing men to utter despair. Even the weakest will turn again when escape is hopeless. This cruel and impolitic excess of persecution led to the great plot for destroying the King and Parliament. Robert Catesby, a Northamptonshire gentleman, had seen his father imprisoned for recusancy, and was rendered desperate by the penalties to which his religion was subjected. Having joined the Earl of Essex in his ill-directed attempt, been imprisoned and fined £3,000, he advanced to still more daring treason. He conceived the fiendish project of blowing up all the notabilities of the land at one fell stroke, and managed to associate twelve companions with

* For a detailed account of the horrible cruelties and oppressions exercised by the pursuivants, see Dodd's *Church History*, iv., 160—180.

† Lingard's *History*, vi., 40. Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, ii., 77—81. Dodd's *Church History*, iv., 41, note.

him in his desperate design. How the plot was at the last moment discovered by means of the letter to Lord Mounteagle,* how Guido Faux was taken and tortured, and the other accomplices hunted down, shot, or executed, all histories tell us. But there scarcely appears to be sufficient ground for implicating the Jesuit priests in the fearful crime. Certainly they were made aware of the preparation of some sort of plot a short time before, under the seal of confession; but they appear to have done all that they could, short of actually revealing the intentions of the conspirators, to prevent the execution of it.† Greenway happily succeeded in quitting the country, and Garnet, captured in the secret chambers of Mrs. Abington's house at Henlip, would perhaps at the last have escaped execution, had he not boldly avowed the fearful doctrine as to the lawfulness of equivocation, which (even the Roman Catholic historian admits) rendered his pardon impossible.‡ It is

* The original is still preserved in the State Paper Office. On the falsity of the popular notion that King James's ingenuity discovered the meaning of it, see Dodd's *Church Hist.*, iv., 49, 50, note.

† "All that was proved against Garnet was, that he, in his own confession, did confess that he had heard of the Powder Plot of others only in confession."—Bishop Goodman's *Court of King James I.*, p. 109. Catesby confessed to Greenway—Greenway consulted Garnet, his provincial. See, with regard to their probable guilt, Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, i., 399, note; Dodd's *Church Hist.*, u. s.

‡ Lingard, vi., 62. He quotes Garnet's words: "In cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lie, the same speech may without perjury be confirmed by an oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament."—Henry Garnet. Original in the State Paper Office, in Garnet's own handwriting.

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asserted,* that if the plot had succeeded, it was intended to father it on the Puritans. Such a statement bears its own refutation. If the plot had succeeded, there could not have been an instant's doubt as to its authors, seeing that all things had been prepared by them for a rising, and for obtaining possession of the young Princess Elizabeth, in whose name it was intended that the government should be carried on; Northumberland, in all probability, being designed to be regent.

Oath of allegiance.

The discovery of the plot was follwed by the enforcement of a new oath of allegiance intended to be worded in such a way, that those Roman Catholics who did not hold that the Pope had power to depose temporal sovereigns might take it. At this time there was no Romish bishop in England, the integrity of the ancient sees being not yet invaded. The English Romanists were governed by an arch-priest. George Blackwell, who was arch-priest at this time, was a moderate man, and desirous to live in peace. On November 28, he published a letter to the English Catholics, condemning the late plot as a "detestable and damnable practice, odious in the sight of God, and horrible to the understanding of men;" and bid them not to "presume to attempt any practice or action tending in any degree to the hurt or prejudice of the person of our sovereign lord the King, the prince, nobility, counsellors and officers of state, but to behave themselves as becomes dutiful subjects."† It was not, however, to

Blackwell, the arch-priest.

* Neal, ii, 54; Fuller.
† Collier, vii., 331.

be expected that the extreme excitement and indignation of the Parliament should pass over without showing itself in some severe enactments, and accordingly a rigid code of pains and penalties, contained in two bills of more than seventy enactments, was passed.* If, however, we are to believe Bishop Burnet, all this severity was soon relaxed. He tells a strange story of a caution given by Sir Dudley Carlton on his return from Spain, to King James. The King was hunting, as was his wont, in a careless and unguarded manner. The ambassador told him that if he did not take more precautions, the Jesuits would certainly assassinate him. Upon this, the King not liking to give up his hunting, gave up persecuting the Jesuits. "I have," says Burnet, "the minutes of the council books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to discharge and transport priests, sometimes ten in a day."†

Severe laws against Papists.

The archbishop's new power of enforcing the *ex animo* subscription was so vigorously wielded, that the judges now began to grow jealous of it. In order to check the growing power of the Church, they issued prohibitions from their courts, bringing many of the matters cited before the ecclesiastical courts, to be tried by the common law of the land. This the archbishop could by no means endure. In Michaelmas term, he exhibited twenty-five Articles to the Lords of the Privy Council in the name of the whole clergy against the judges. The judges called upon for their defence, took time to consider, and then delivered in to the council in Easter Term

Prohibition issued by judges.

Bancroft's *Articuli Cleri.*

Answer of the judges.

* Lingard, vi., 68. † Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 5, ed. 1838.

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following, a unanimous answer to the charges made by the archbishop. The document was drawn up by Sir Edward Coke, and is to be found in his *Institutes*. It is a highly important and very curious record, throwing much light upon the state of the Church at the period. It will be remembered that towards the end of 1604, the judges being consulted in the Star Chamber as to the authority of the Court of High Commission, gave an opinion which ran in favour of its most arbitrary proceedings. They seem, however, soon to have changed their minds. "Within four or five months after," says the archbishop in his *Articles of Abuses*, "a prohibition was awarded to the said commissioners out of the King's Bench, upon suggestion that the party ought to have a copy of the articles, being called in question *ex officio*, before he should answer them." And, "Whereas certain lewd persons (two for example sake) one for notorious adultery, and other intolerable contempts, and another for abusing a bishop of this kingdom, with threatening speeches and sundry railing terms, were thereupon fined and imprisoned by the said commissioners: the one was delivered by an *habeas corpus* out of the King's Bench, and the other by a like writ out of the Common Pleas." Again: "Forasmuch as imprisonment upon the writ of *excommunicato capiendo*, is the chiefest temporal strength of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that by the laws of the realm, none so committed for their contempt in matters of ecclesiastical cognizance ought to be delivered until

the ecclesiastical courts were satisfied, or caution given in his behalf, we would gladly be resolved by what authority the temporal judges do cause the sheriffs to bring the said parties into their courts, and by their own discretions set them at liberty."* To this last the judges answer: "We affirm, that if the party excommunicate be imprisoned, we ought upon complaint, to send the King's writ for the body and the cause, and if no sufficient cause appear, then we do, as we ought, set him at liberty."

The judges are rather severe upon the bishops in some part of their reply.† "They will deprive a minister," they say, "not for matter appertaining to the ecclesiastical cognizance, but for that which doth merely belong to the cognizance of the King's temporal courts." They accuse them of "strange presumption," and of utter ignorance of law. They say that so bad is the character of the ecclesiastical courts for justice, that a "temporal man" will prefer to have a claim against him for tithes tried in the King's court, though there, if cast, he will have to pay treble value, than in the spiritual courts, which are not allowed to award more than double value. Tithes, we see by this document, were at that time, as well as since, a fruitful source of litigation. The judges say, "Many turbulent ministers do infinitely vex their parishioners for such

* Bancroft's *Articles of Abuses Desired to be Reformed,* reprinted in Cardwell's *Doc. Annals,* ii., 82—105. The document is too long for insertion here, but is well worth a careful perusal.

† "To each of the articles of complaint the judges made separate answers, in a rough, and some might say in a rude style, but pointed, and much to the purpose."—Hallam, *Cons. Hist.,* i., 318.

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kinds of tithes as they never had, whereby many parishes have become impoverished. For example: one minister did demand seventeen different kinds of tithes, whereupon the party suing a prohibition, had eight or nine of them judged against the minister upon demurrer of law." Another "did confess to us that he was to sue his parishioner but for a calf and a goose; and that his proctor nevertheless put in a libel of seven or eight things more than he had cause to sue for." Another caused great trouble to the courts by a composition of a singular character, "that in regard of a special receipt, called a cup of buttered beer, made by the great skill of the said parishioner, to cure a grievous disease called a cold, which sorely troubled the said minister, all his tithes were discharged." That some stand against the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts was absolutely needed, we may infer from the fact, that 570 prohibitions according to the archbishop, 251 according to the judges, had been issued from the temporal courts in the three years of King James's reign. It is satisfactory to know that the archbishop's attempt to check the judges failed, and that they continued to issue their prohibitions, and to curb the abuses of the ecclesiastical courts.*

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 318. Bancroft repeated the attempt in 1608, but with similar ill success.

CHAPTER IV.

King's design of introducing Episcopacy into Scotland—Scotch ministers at Hampton Court—The Pope condems the Oath of Allegiance—The Venetian dispute with the Pope—Complaint of the ministers in the west—Translators of the Bible—King's letter about their preferment—Directions for their work—Death of Lively and Reynolds—Character of Dr. Reynolds—Dr. Laifield and Miles Smith—King's Treatise on Oath of Allegiance—The Epistle Dedicatory—Blackwell's moderation—Church discipline in the Channel Islands—Mr. Molle's sufferings at Rome—Effects of Bancroft's administration—Views of the Puritans on toleration—Arminius in Holland—Chelsea College for controversial divinity—Queen Elizabeth's rapaciousness—Disputes between the Church and the lawyers—Case of Nicholas Fuller—Anger in Parliament at the ecclesiastical power—Cowell's interpreter—Dr. Cowell imprisoned and his book called in—Bancroft's proposal for improving revenues of the clergy—Parliament busy with their grievances—Archbishop's letter to the bishops—Work of the Convocation—Overall's Convocation Book—King's letter to Dr. Abbot—Progress of the design for restoring Scotch episcopacy—Consecration of the Scotch bishops at London House—Court of High Commission established for Scotland—Death of Bancroft—His character—Unpopularity of the Church with the laity begins under him.

KING JAMES had never for a moment abandoned his favourite project of introducing an episcopacy into Scotland, having the same powers and privileges as that order which he delighted to honour in England. By various shifts and contrivances, he

King's design of introducing episcopacy into Scotland.

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had managed to continue the appointments to the principal sees of Scotland, though the titular bishops were without consecration, jurisdiction, or revenue. They continued, however, to enjoy the privilege of sitting in Parliament, and they were a body of active and willing instruments for furthering and upholding the King's views and policy. Naturally, they were regarded with great jealousy and dislike by the Presbyterians, who saw them absorbing all the sunshine of the royal favour, and beheld in them a perpetual danger and menace to their beloved discipline.

Scotch ministers at Hampton Court.

This summer, some of the chief of the Presbyterians had to meet their enemies, the titular bishops, before the King at Hampton Court. In spite of the prohibition of the meeting of the General Assembly, in the year 1605, some few determined ministers, assembling at Aberdeen, had agreed to call themselves the General Assembly, and to adjourn. Being arraigned for this before the council, they had objected to, and declined the jurisdiction, and were accordingly convicted of high treason.* The King now wished to make the chief men of the Kirk disavow their act, and profess their submission to his prerogative. An obsequious Parliament, held at Perth, had just passed an act magnifying the prerogative, and another restoring the temporalities of the bishops. All would go well, if the stubborn spirit of the chief elders of the Kirk could be made to bend, to acknowledge the

* Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, vol. ii., chap. 1.

King's power, to prohibit or dissolve a general assembly, and to condemn the factious conduct of the Aberdeen ministers. But the two Melvils, Balfour, and Scot, would not yield. They were subjected to a course of sermons by the chief preachers among the English bishops. They had to listen in silence to the learned arguments of Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln; Buckeridge, of Rochester; Andrews, then of Chichester; and King, afterwards Bishop of London.* It must have been very galling to their spirits to have been obliged to hear all this theology without having the opportunity to reply; but, in spite of the sermons provided for them, the King's arguments, and the ready consent of the titular Scotch bishops in condemning the Aberdeen assemblage, the Presbyterians returned evasive answers, and were at last sent back angrily into Scotland, while the ministers who had been convicted of treason were ordered to be banished.† The beginning of the attempt to re-

Sermons preached to them.

* It is amusing to observe the Presbyterian historian's contemptuous account of these sermons. Sept. 21.—"They (the ministers) were placed in a desk by themselves, hard by the preacher. Bishop Barlow had a sermon before the King, upon Acts, xx., 16, written in a paper book, before him. Sept. 23.—Dr. Buckeridge taught upon Romans, xiii., 1. He joined Pope and Presbyteries together, divers times, as enemies to the King's supremacy. Sept. 28.—Dr. Andrews discoursed upon the two trumpets, and proved, as he could, the convening and discharging of assemblies to belong to Christian kings and emperors. Sept. 30.—They were again called on to sermon. Dr. King had a most virulent invective against the presbyteries crying to the King 'Down, down with them.'"—Calderwood.

† Andrew Melvil composed the following epigram on being present at the service in the Chapel Royal:

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store the Scotch episcopacy made by the Parliament at Perth, adroitly managed by Sir George Hume (now created Earl of Dunbar and Lord Treasurer of Scotland), was followed up by the proceedings of a general assembly, held at Linlithgow, in the December following. It was there agreed upon that all presbyteries should have their *constant moderators*, who were to receive an annual salary of £100, and that the bishops should be the moderators. A good deal of management and considerable bribery was required, before the skilful Earl of Dunbar could get the ministers to assent to these resolutions—which, in fact, were equivalent to restoring the jurisdiction of bishops, as their state and revenue had already been restored by the Parliament. The only further step needed was their consecration, which was to follow ere long.

"Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regiâ in arâ?
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum, cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta suâ?
Romano et ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam."

This epigram fell into the hands of the King, and the indignant Scotchman was summoned before the council. Archbishop Bancroft essayed to take him to task, but found he had met with his match. Mr. Melvil delivered his testimony pretty freely. "He charged him with profaning the Sabbath, imprisoning, silencing, and bearing down faithful preachers; holding up antichristian hierarchy and Popish ceremonies. Shaking the white sleeve of his rochet, he called them Romish rags, and told him he esteemed him the capital enemy of all reformed Kirks in Europe." He likewise attacked Bishop Barlow, for his report of the Hampton Court Conference; and dealt his blows so freely all around, that they were obliged to remove him. Shortly after, he was committed to the Tower.—Calderwood, 549.

Pope condemns the Oath of Allegiance.

The King had also other controversies on his hands. Pope Paul V., having endeavoured to obtain favour for those Roman Catholics who were innocent of the Plot, and finding his messages received coldly, sent through Holtby, who had now succeded Garnet as provincial of the Jesuits, a brief to be put into the hands of the archpriest, condemning the Oath of Allegiance as unlawful. Blackwell, who had himself taken the oath, declined to publish the brief, regarding it, as he said, in no particular way as addressed to him, but only having received it as others had.* The Pope's authority thus braved by his own officers in England, was also at this same moment seriously threatened in the flourishing republic of Venice. The English ambassador was constantly closeted with the senate, and his chaplain, Mr. Bedel, with Father Paolo Sarpi, whom the Venetians had appointed one of the council of state, in order that he might defend with his pen the position which they had taken up in reference to the Roman See. It must have been peculiarly gratifying to the King of England to be called upon for his advice and assistance in this dispute, and for two or three years he was still flattered with the hope that the Venetians would imitate the example of the English and permanently separate themselves from the Church of Rome. He ceased not to urge upon Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador in England, that they should endeavour to bring about the calling of a universal

The Venetian dispute with the Pope.

* Dodd's *Church History*, iv., 74. Notes and Appendix.

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council, a project in which he thought the French king and divers other princes would lend a helping hand. Under his encouragement and patronage, Father Paul composed his celebrated *History of the Council of Trent*, the sheets of which were despatched to King James as fast as they were written.* A universal council, in which he, the most theological of kings, might appear, and perhaps take a leading part, was a pleasing dream and aspiration; but neither the Venetians, whose quarrel with the Pope was merely one of jurisdiction; nor the Pope himself, to whom also King James did not fail to recommend it, cared to favour the project.

Complaint of the Puritan ministers in the west.

At home the Puritan ministers ceased not to press their grievances. Now their voice comes from the utmost west—the counties of Devon and Cornwall. With somewhat of touching pathos, they plead their cause: "Manifold disgraces have been cast upon us, and we have endured them; the liberty of our ministry hath been taken from us; and though with bleeding hearts, we have sustained it; we have been cast out of our houses, and deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown no trumpet of sedition.....The weight of episcopal power may oppress us, but cannot convince us."† Could we but feel sure that the men who wrote these words were anxious to conform, though unable, conscientiously, to say that they approved heartily of all things in the Prayer Book, it is impossible

* Walton's *Life of Sir Henry Wotton;* Welwood's *Memoirs*, 29—31.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 69.

that we could refuse them our sympathy; but if any of them cherished the unreasonable notion that they had a right to claim a place in the public ministry of a Church whose laws they refused to obey, the untenable ground they had taken up seems to stand in the way of our cordial regard. We may regret the sharpness of the pains and penalties inflicted on them, but cannot look upon them as legitimate confessors in a righteous cause.

Translation of the Bible.

It is pleasant to turn from controversies and complaints to the contemplation of a goodly company of divines employed in a solid, useful, and becoming work. In the spring of this year, 1607, the translation of the Bible was commenced. It had been agreed upon three years before at Hampton Court, but the necessary arrangements and choice of men could not, perhaps, sooner be perfected. The King had addressed a letter to the Bishop of London, dated July 22, 1604, telling him that he had chosen fifty-four divines for the work, and admonishing him, and through him the Archbishop of York and the other bishops, to take care and present such of the learned men as were not provided with benefices to some prebend or parsonage, "rated in our book of taxations at £20 at the least," hoping, also, that lay-patrons would take the hint, and declaring that the same direction had been given with regard to livings in the gift of the Crown.* It is probable that the necessity of

King's letter about their preferments.

* Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 65—67. Bancroft seconds this with a letter calling upon the bishops, and deans, and chapters for

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decently providing for all those selected as translators may have retarded the commencement of the work considerably, as we find in Fuller's list of the translators no less than sixteen without any office or preferment attached to their names. Besides this charge to the archbishop and bishops, they are also recommended in the King's letter to inquire after any learned men in their dioceses, and to request them to send any observations they may have to make to the Regius Professors of Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge, or to Dr. Andrews, Dean of Westminster. The fifty-four originally mentioned were reduced by the year 1607, either by death or the resignation of their appointment, to forty-seven. These were divided into six classes, two of which were to meet at Westminster, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge.* The King's letter of instructions to them in their work is sensible and clear. His directions are as follows:—

Directions for their work.

(1.) "The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit.

contributions also in money, stating that "not lesss than a thousand marks will finish the work."—Cardwell, p. 68. Strype's *Whitgift*, 591.

* These met at Westminster.

Andrews Overall Saravia Clark Laifield Leigh Burleigh Kinge Thompson Bedwell	Pentateuch; Historical books from Joshua to Chron. I. (exclusive).	Barlow Hutchinson Spencer Fenton Rabbett Sanderson Dakins	The Epistles of St. Paul and the Canonical Epistles.

(2.) "The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be retained, as near as may be, as they are vulgarly used.

(3.) "The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz., as the word Church, not to be translated congregation.

(4.) "When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith.

(5.) "The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

(6.) "No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek

These at Cambridge.

Lively Richardson Chaderton Dillingham Harrison Andrews Spaldinge Birge	Rest of the historical books; Job; Psalms; Proverbs; Canticа; Ecclesiastes.	Duport Ratcliffe Ward Braithwaite Downes Boyse Warde	The Prayer of Manasses, and the rest of the Apocrypha.

These at Oxford.

Hardinge Reynolds Holland Kilby Smith Brett Fareclowe	Four greater Prophets; Lamentation; Twelve lesser Prophets.	Ravis Abbott Eedes Thompson Savile Perren Ravens Harmer	The four Gospels; Acts of the Apostles; Apocalypse.

Fuller; Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 106—111.

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words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, be so briefly and fitly expressed in the text.

(7.) "Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

(8.) "Every particular man of each company to take the same chapters, and having translated or amended them severally by himself, where he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree, for their part, what shall stand.

(9.) "As any one company hath despatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for his Majesty is very careful in this point.

(10.) "If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons; to which, if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at a General Meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

(11.) "When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned in the land for his judgment in such a place.

(12.) "Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind to send his particular observations to the

company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford. Chap. IV. 1607.

(13.) "The directors in each company to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the King's professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each university.

(14.) "These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz., Tindal's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva.

"Three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the vice-chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified."*

Under these directions, the forty-seven divines settled to their work, but their number was soon diminished by the loss of two of them by death: Mr. Lively, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, on whom they depended much for his skill in Oriental tongues, died at the very beginning of the work;† and May 21st, died Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford, one of the most learned and distinguished divines of whom the Church could boast. "This John Reynolds," says Fuller, "was a zealous Papist, whilst William, his brother, was as earnest a Pro-

Death of Lively and Reynolds.

Character of Dr. Reynolds.

* Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 106—112.

† Probably before it was begun. See Cardwell's note, *Doc. Annals*, ii., 110.

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testant; and afterwards Providence so ordered it, that by their mutual disputation, John Reynolds turned an eminent Protestant, and William an inveterate Papist, in which persuasion he died."* Dr. Crakanthorp, who had known him well, thus panegyricizes him: "He was a complete treasury of all kinds of learning, and had read almost all writers sacred and profane. Skilful he was in all languages which a divine needs to know; in genius sharp and quick, in judgment grave and mature. Indefatigable in labour, he was of such a marvellous memory that he might justly be called a living library; † and so great was his proficiency in every kind of learning, that he seemed to have bestowed his whole toil on each particular subject. In virtue, probity, integrity, and, above all, in holiness of life, he was so illustrious, that you might say of him, as Gregory of Nazianzum does of Athanasius, 'To name Reynolds was to praise virtue itself.' Yet, though he deserved to be preferred before the highest, he would put himself on a level with the lowest. Although appointed by the King to be the advocate of the Puritans, he was very far from joining in their narrow-minded scrupulousness, and himself always attended diligently the services of the Church, wore the surplice and cap, and communicated kneeling. In his last moments, he desired to be

* Fuller, *Church History*, x., iii., 3.

† Thus, too, Bishop Hall: "He alone was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning. The memory, the reading of that man, were next to a miracle."—Hall's *Letter to Bedell.*

absolved in the form provided in the Liturgy, and affectionately kissed the hand of Dr. Holland, who performed this service for him. Shortly after which he breathed forth his holy soul, and leaving to us grief and lamentation, passed away to the abodes of the blessed."* Chap. IV. 1607.

Of the other translators, the specialities noted by Fuller are, that Dr. Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was great in architecture, and that much reliance was placed in his judgment on the fabric of the Tabernacle and the Temple; and that Miles Smith, of Oxford, who was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, wrote the preface to the translation.† Dr. Laifield and Miles Smith.

While the principal divines of the kingdom were occupied in their great work of revision of the translations of the Sacred Writings, the King was

* Crakanthorp, *Def. Eccl. Anglic.*, pp. 460-1-2. Oxford edition.

† The following are the previous versions of the Bible, with the dates of their publication :—

	A.D.
(1.) Wiclif's Bible	1380
(2.) Tyndall's New Testament	1526
(3.) ——— Pentateuch	1530
(4.) ——— Jonas	1531
(5.) G. Joye, Isaiah	1531
(6.) ——— Jeremiah, Psalms, Song of Moses	1534
(7.) Coverdale's Bible	1535
(8.) Matthew's (J. Rogers') ditto	1537
(9.) Cranmer's (Great) Bible	1539
(10.) Taverner's Bible	1539
(11.) Geneva Bible	1560
(12.) Parker's (Bishops') Bible	1568
(13.) Authorized Version	1611

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by no means idle in his favourite employment of controversial theology. Blackwell, the archpriest in England, had given great offence to the extreme party at Rome, by having taken, and sanctioned by a pastoral letter, the Oath of Allegiance, and having refused to recognise the Pope's brief despatched last year. He was attacked for it by Persons and Bellarmine, superseded in his office by the appointment of a new archpriest, and a second brief was issued from Rome, dated Aug. 26, 1607, confirming the first, and strictly charging all Catholics neither to take the Oath of Allegiance, nor in any way to conform in matters touching their religion.* The King, thoroughly indignant, rushed to the attack with all the weapons of polemical divinity, and composed a long treatise against the Pope and Cardinal, called an *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, or *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*. Persons, anonymously, and Bellarmine, under the name of Matthæus Tortus, hastened to reply. The King answered in a second treatise, prefixed by way of preface to the first, called *An Epistle dedicatory to all Christian princes*,† and the entire work, translated into Latin, was despatched, by special messengers, to all the Courts of Europe. Most of the princes received the present as a compliment. By

King's treatise on *Oath of Allegiance*.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

* Dodd's *Church History*, iv., 75. Notes.

† "Barlow, Andrews, Morton, Burhill, followed in the wake of the royal polemic. The Catholic writers, Widdrington, Warmington, and others, pursued a similar course; while Kellison, Fitzherbert, Walpole, Saurez, Becan, Endæmon Joannes, and a host of less distinguished writers, flew to the aid of Persons and the Cardinal."—Tierney's Notes to Dodd's *Church History*.

the Archduke and the King of Spain it was peremptorily refused.*

Blackwell's moderation.

The arch-presbyter, Blackwell, who had been thus disgraced by the Pope, seems to have been a fair and moderate man, and if all the English Romanists had thought with him, there might have been some hope of gradually drawing them into conformity with the Anglican Church. Having been apprehended after the Government had discovered the fact of his having received the Pope's first brief, and examined at Lambeth, he declared himself to be still of the same opinion about the lawfulness of taking the oath; † and in a letter which he wrote to the English priests of his communion, dated July 7, 1607, he defended his views, denied the Pope's right to discharge subjects of their allegiance, and strongly enforced loyal and dutiful submission to the Government.‡ This sort of temper, however, has never found favour at Rome.§ The divines of the Sorbon, with that feeble struggling for independence which has always characterised the Church of France, gave it their support,‖ but at the Vatican nothing has ever been accepted, save the unquestioning devotion of a

* Lingard, vi., 75.

† Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iv., appendix xxvi.

‡ Ditto, appendix xxix.

§ "This Seat (Rome) having stood for her rights, so many ages, in the cause of deposing princes, will be very unwilling to permit the oath, as the words lie, although glossed with another intention. Take heed of meddling with the deponibility of princes, for that article will never pass here."—*Letter of Father Wilfred*, quoted in Clarendon State Papers; Dodd, iv, 72, note.

‖ Collier, vii., 350, who quotes Du Pin.

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blind obedience which knows no law but the will of the Church.

Church discipline in the Channel Islands.

It had been an annoyance to the disciplinarian mind of Archbishop Bancroft, that within the Diocese of Winchester there should exist the anomaly of a legally constituted Church of the Presbyterian platform, after the pattern of Geneva and the reformed churches in France. This privilege, which had been granted to the Channel Islands by Elizabeth, had been confirmed and ratified upon the accession of James; but it was now determined to undo it. For this purpose, Sir John Peyton, the Governor of Jersey, had received secret instructions, and, in pursuance of them, had taken the occasion of the synod's appointment of a minister to a vacant living, to object that they admitted men to livings without presentation, by which the Crown lost its first fruits. This raised a dispute, as was intended, and the matter being referred to the Crown, the King decided that, to avoid all difficulties for the future, he would revive the office and authority of a dean, and establish the English Common Prayer Book and canons among them. This was done accordingly,* and the good people and ministers of Jersey had either to submit dutifully to the authority of the See of Winchester, or to retire, as many of them did, into France or Holland.

Perhaps our religious annals scarcely furnish a

* Not, however, until after many years of disputes and confusion; in the year 1623.—Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 399.

more noble instance of constancy and enduring heroism than one which was at this time exhibited by an English churchman amidst the horrors of the Inquisition at Rome. Mr. Molle, who had lived much in France, had been appointed travelling tutor by the Earl of Exeter to his grandson Lord Ross. Mr. Molle undertook the charge with reluctance, as he knew that the Romish Church had a quarrel with him for having translated Du Plessis' book on *The Visibility of the Church*. He was determined at any rate to keep on the safe side of the Alps, but the young lord, who was probably rather wilful, insisted on going to Rome. At last his tutor yielded, and they went together to the eternal city. No sooner, however, had the unfortunate Mr. Molle entered it, than the officers of the Inquisition seized on him, and carried him away to the dungeons of the Holy Office. Those who once enter there do not readily escape. For thirty long years this unhappy Englishman was retained in durance, always nobly resisting the attempts made to pervert him, and in the eighty-first year of his age, "died a prisoner, and a constant confessor of Christ's cause."* To this gentleman in his captivity, Joseph Hall addressed one of the most beautiful of his truly Christian letters to encourage him in his trials. "What do we not owe to you," he says, "who have thus given yourself for the common faith? How famous are your bonds, how glorious your constancy! oh, that out of your close obscurity you could but see the honour of

Mr. Molle's sufferings at Rome.

* Fuller's *Church Hist.*, x., iii., 11.

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your suffering—the affections of God's saints, and in some a holy envy at your distressed happiness. The Church, your mother, beholds you not with more affection than joy. The blessed angels look upon you with gratulation and applause. The adversaries with an angry sorrow to see themselves overcome by their captive. Your Saviour sees you from above not as a mere spectator, but as a patient in you, for you; giving new courage with the one hand, and holding out a crown with the other."* Here indeed was a glorious exhibition of English churchmanship, and the thoughts of it must have been cheering and animating to those engaged in the hot and weary struggle for Catholic truth and comely ritual against Puritan narrow-mindedness and Nonconforming obstinacy.

Effects of Bancroft's administration.

To the true English churchman the archbishop's unhesitating and unflinching severity must have been a constant source of pain, even if he considered it unavoidable. Yet the material results were encouraging. More churches, we are told, were beautified and repaired now than in many years before. The Liturgy was more solemnly celebrated by the priests, and more religiously attended by the common people. The fasts and festivals were punctually observed, copes were now generally worn in the cathedral churches, the surplice was universal, and all things were brought back to the state in which they had at first been settled under Elizabeth.† The strong system of repression, and

* Hall's Works, p. 362 (folio).

† Heylin's *Presbyterians*, 376; Howes's *Chronicle*, 891—908.

the unhesitating use of force to exterminate opposition on religious topics, appears to have produced these effects. Whether, if it had continued for a longer period, the primate's policy would have availed to extirpate Puritanism from the nation, is a doubtful point. In the judgment of Lord Clarendon, there was great probability of its success. "Dr. Bancroft," he says, "that metropolitan who understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Nonconformists. If he had lived, he would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva."* It may indeed be so. Protestantism was extinguished in Spain by the fires of the Inquisition, Puritanism might have been broken and utterly annihilated by an untiring and continuous application of a vigilant policy of repression.

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There was in the state of religious opinion at the time one great element promising success to a stern rule of censure and imprisonment. Scarce any of the Puritan clergy considered separation in any other light than as the deadly sin of schism. Toleration was equally condemned by them, as an unrighteous slackness; and their quarrel with the

Views of the Puritans on toleration.

* Clarendon's *History*, p. 36, ed. 1843. Dr. Crakanthorp writing towards the end of James's reign, thus speaks: "Horum supplicio sapere alii didicerunt, nec jam multis ab annis errore isto, vel ecclesiæ nostræ turbas vel sibpsis damnum creare ausi sunt. Et quidem sopita, imò extincta penitus apud nos fuisset hæc secta, nisi ab emissariis vestris fuisset fota."—Crakanthorpii, *Def. Eccl. Ang.*, p. 193.

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ruling powers in the Church was not so much that they were oppressed and persecuted, as that the ceremonies which they were compelled to adopt were against the Scriptures. They would have shrunk, as from profanation, from the modern ground of demanding liberty in religious things; and if they hated the archbishop, it was more because they thought him wrong in doctrine than unreasonably severe in administration. Doubtless the ripping open of old sores long happily healed over by acquiescence in the existing order of things, which was done by the new subscription with the *ex animo* clause, was a sad trial and difficulty to many a painstaking earnest-minded pastor; but even such would scarcely impugn the principle which strove to push conformity to its utmost limits, and to test even the thoughts and intents of the heart.* It may be said, with no lack of charity, that this *principle* was carried further by the Puritan clergy, than even by the High Church party, and the vain chimera of a possible unity of opinion upon religious matters, was one of the most cherished articles of their creed. The Romanists had lost ground immeasurably by the late mad and hideous project of a few desperate men of their faith, and the country was so set against them, that their sufferings under the fearful penal laws excited no sympathy. As a religious party, their voice is no more heard for a long period, though the continued plottings and practisings of the

* "Non tolerantur ulli nisi quoad convincuntur," says Crakanthorp.

Jesuits were ever a source of political danger to the state. Chap. IV. 1608.

But if in England there was now a comparative quiet in religious matters, in the neighbouring country of Holland, strife was raging, which was soon to be propagated to our shores. It was now that James Van Harmin, Divinity Professor at Leyden, was at the height of his influence, and convulsing the foreign reformed churches with the bold opposition of religious philosophy to the dogmatism of Calvin. Arminius (to use the best known form of his name) had been educated in the University of Geneva, and having been ordained minister, was for fifteen years the pastor of the great Church at Amsterdam. Startled and aroused by the statements of the extreme doctrine of the Supra-lapsarians, as set forth by Perkins in his *Armilla Aurea*, he undertook to answer that treatise. He next appears as holding a conference with the learned Junius (whom he was afterwards to succeed at Leyden) upon the Sub-lapsarian doctrine; the result of which conference was given to the world in a tract called *Amica Collatio*. Upon the death of Junius, he was appointed by the curators of the University of Leyden to succeed him, whereupon a violent storm arose among the alarmed Calvinist ministers. They accused him to the Council of Holland of all sorts of crimes, and strove to prevent the ratification of his appointment. But the curators were firm, and he removed to Leyden. "During the short time," says Heylin, "of his sitting in the chair of Leyden, he drew unto him a Arminius in Holland.

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great part of that university; who by the piety of the man, his powerful arguments, his extreme diligence in that place, and the clear light of reason which appeared in all his discourses, became so wedded at last unto his opinions, that no time or trouble could divorce them from Harmin."* In the next year (1609) he died, but not before his genius and Christian courage had given form and substance to opinions destined to exercise a powerful influence on the theology of the Church of England, and to emancipate the religious mind of Protestant Christianity from a slavish obedience to the assumptions of Calvinism.

Chelsea College for controversial divinity.

The taste for controversial divinity so prevalent, at that time must have been developed with peculiar intensity in Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter. This good man was ready to bestow lands to the amount of £300 a year, and to leave by will £4,000 additional for the establishment of a college at Chelsea, for the study of controversial divinity. The King, as might be expected, warmly took up the matter, and incorporated the foundation by the name of "King James's College in Chelsey," giving it a reversion of a good estate, and the power to receive funds not exceeding £3,000 a year. The King's benefits were not perhaps quite so solid as the Dean's, but in addition to the royal license to the college to receive money, there was procured for the new foundation an Act of Parliament authorising the corporation "to dig a trench out

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 380; see also *Mosheim*, *Cent.* xvii., c. iii., 2.

of the river Lea, to erect engines, water-works, &c., to convey and carry water in close pipes underground unto the City of London and the suburbs thereof, for the perpetual maintenance and sustentation of the provost and fellows of that college and their successors, by the rent to be made of the said waters so conveyed." This might probably have proved a considerable source of revenue to the controversial divines, but for some cause or other the foundation was never completed. A provost, seventeen fellows, and two historians were appointed, and the King issued his letters to the archbishop to stir up his clergy to contribute to so good a work, but contributions came in slowly, the Church did not enter heartily into the design. Either the prelates were jealous lest the controversial fellows should eclipse them in importance, or some influential members of Parliament thought that the college would "be too *courtier*," and the historians would "propend too much in favour of King James," or churchmen were not over fond of Dr. Sutcliffe, "he being a known rigid antiremonstrant, and when old, very morose and testy in his writings against them," or for some other reason, the goodly design failed. In Fuller's time the unfinished building, not an eighth part of what was intended (which cost, however, £3,000), stood, like a "lodge in a garden of cucumbers." A decree in Chancery had restored Dr. Sutcliffe's farms to his lawful heir, and a costly suit had been commenced with the then provost as to the title of the ground on which the college had been begun to be built.*

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., iii., 19—28.

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King James had showed in this matter his disposition to advance the cause of religion by substantial benefits, and in this part of his character he certainly contrasts favourably with his rapacious predecessor.

Queen Elizabeth's rapaciousness.

The death of Heton, Bishop of Ely, which occurred this year, brings before us another of the many instances in which Queen Elizabeth showed her utter unscrupulousness as to the revenues of the Church. Perhaps there is no more glaring case on record, than the way in which the great Queen treated the unfortunate See of Ely. When it became vacant, by the death of Bishop Cox, one of the divines of the Reformation, who had a principal hand in compiling the Prayer Book, it was allowed to remain for *twenty years* without an incumbent. Very ugly stories are told of Bishop Cox for covetousness and dilapidation of his see ; * but, at any rate, that furnished no excuse to the Queen for keeping the diocese without a bishop for twenty years, while she laid violent hands on the rich revenues of the Church.† Nor is this all. Not only did the Queen, for so long a time, enjoy all the revenues of the see, but she endeavoured to make a bargain with several divines to whom she

* Sir J. Harinton's *Brief View of the Church of England*, pp. 77, 78.

† Fuller's *Church History*, x., iii., 28. Similar to this was the case of the See of Oxford. It was vacant from 1592 till 1603 (when Dr. Bridges was appointed), the Earl of Essex getting the principal part of the plunder.—Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 49. Bristol was treated in like manner. Thus, also, out of the See of Durham a yearly pension of £880 was paid to Elizabeth ; who promised, in lieu thereof, impropriations, which was never performed.—Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, i., 266.

offered it, to take it at a greatly reduced value, and transfer the rest of its funds to herself or her courtiers. More than one refused it on these terms, but at last Dr. Heton took it, with the revenues much altered and impaired, "seeming more obscure," says Fuller, "because of the lustre and learning of Dr. Launcelot Andrews, who immediately succeeded him." Chap. IV. 1609.

The contest between the common law and the courts ecclesiastical was now raging every day more fiercely. Archbishop Bancroft, exasperated by the sharp answers of the judges to his objections before the privy council, was ready to go all lengths in urging the power of the Church. On their part, the judges refused to recognise the *ipso facto* excommunication of the canons, and allowed those who were affected by it their civil privileges as before.* The archbishop must, therefore, have greatly rejoiced over an opportunity of making one of these obnoxious and daring lawyers feel the weight of his resentment. Such an opportunity was now afforded to him. The case affords us a terrible insight into the under currents which were at work, to produce the surface tranquillity and uniformity of these times. One Thomas Ladd, a merchant at Great Yarmouth, was suspected of favouring Conventicles. For this he was twice examined before the Chancellor of Norwich upon his oath. Being summoned a third time, he declined to answer unless he were allowed to see his Disputes between the Church and the lawyers.

* Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ch. vi.

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former depositions. Whereupon, he was imprisoned by the power of the High Commission, and for a long time remained in prison, as bail was not allowed. Perhaps a still harder case was that of Richard Mansell, a preacher, whose offence was that he was suspected of being "a partaker in a petition to the House of Commons"! For this he was summoned before the Court of High Commission, and refusing the oath *ex officio*, was imprisoned and *could not be bailed*. The cause of these two unfortunate men was taken up warmly by Mr. Nicholas Fuller, a bencher of Gray's Inn, a man eminent in his profession, who obtained from the judges the writ of *habeas corpus* for them. The prisoners being brought to the bar, Mr. Fuller pleaded boldly in their behalf that they ought to be discharged, for that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had no power to imprison or fine any of his Majesty's subjects. This was a bold line to take, considering that all the judges had agreed some few years back that the Commissioners had this power. The archbishop saw his advantage. The advocate was now made to feel that from which he had striven to deliver his clients. By the powers of the Court, against which he had argued, he was arrested and committed to a prison, which he never quitted alive. Many, it is said, were the petitions for his enlargement, but the archbishop represented to the King that he was the champion of the Nonconformists, and there was no remedy. The judges, either terrified by the royal support of the ecclesiastical tyranny, or technically unable to in-

Case of Nicholas Fuller.

terfere, left the victim of the too-powerful archbishop to his fate.* Chap. IV. 1610.

When such oppressions as this were possible, it is little wonder if there was ominous and threatening talk in Parliament about the High Commission Court. "Every man must now conform to the episcopal way, and quit his hold in opinion, or safety. That court was the touchstone to try whether men were metal for their stamp, and if they were not soft enough to take such impressions as were put upon them, they were made malleable there, or else they could not pass current. This was the beginning of that mischief, which when it came to a full ripeness made such a bloody tincture in both kingdoms, as never will be got out of the bishops' lawn sleeves."† Finding the Parliament showing a strong spirit of opposition, the King endeavoured to bring them to a more satisfactory state of mind by a long lecture‡ delivered to both Houses. He was heard, however, with the less patience by the representatives of the nation, because it was well known that dining in public at Whitehall, he had said that the common law was not to be compared to the civil, and had highly commended a book lately written by Dr. Cowell a civilian, at the solicitation, as was

Anger in Parliament at ecclesiastical power.

Cowell's *Interpreter*.

* Fuller, x., iii., 29, 30.

† Wilson's *History of King James I.*, p. 46.

‡ In this speech the King made a famous simile. Kings, he said, can exalt low things and abase high things, making the subjects like men at chess, a pawn to take a bishop or a knight. "But he left out," says Wilson, "the power of a pawn to take a queen or check a king."

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supposed, of Archbishop Bancroft. This book was full of the most extravagant doctrines. The author contended that the King was not bound by the laws of the realm; that in virtue of his prerogative, he could make laws without the consent of Parliament, and that if the two houses were summoned to concur in the grant of subsidies, it was a matter of favour and not of right. "Though at his coronation he take an oath not to alter the laws of the land, yet this oath notwithstanding, he may alter or suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful to the public estate."* It is said again under the title prerogative, that the King by the custom of this kingdom maketh no law without the consent of the three estates, though he may quash any law concluded of by them, and that he "holds it uncontrollable that the King of England is an *absolute* king."† These monstrous propositions taken together with the canons passed lately in the convocation as to the divine right of kings,‡ might well, as they did, alarm the Commons. There was a conference between the two Houses,

* Cowell's *Interpreter, or Law Dictionary*, quoted by Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i, 319.

† *Ibid.*

‡ See Overall's *Convocation Book*, and note above. Bacon begins one of his Apothegms by the words, "A king is a little god," and King James in the opening of one of his speeches to Parliament undertakes to show in what points the King resembles the Deity. Happily, however, these opinions were not quite universal. Bishop Goodman says: "These were strange and lying positions. There are several forms of government, and all alike justifiable. There is still a power left in mankind to correct or control the government, and to reassume it if things cannot be otherwise remedied."

and a determination to punish the author of them. The King, seeing that the matter was growing serious, immediately sacrificed the unfortunate Dr. Cowell. The common law seized upon its victim in revenge for the oppression of Mr. Fuller. Dr. Cowell was imprisoned, though only for a short time,* and his book suppressed by proclamation.† The book had been dedicated to the archbishop, and was believed to have been prompted by him.

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Dr. Cowell imprisoned, and his book called in.

Men now began steadily to consider at what the Church was really aiming. It was easily perceived that these excessive attempts to exalt the royal prerogative were, in fact, intended to raise the ecclesiastical power with it. "Schemes of jurisdiction hardly less extensive than had warmed the imagination of Becket, now floated before the eyes of his successor Bancroft."‡ The ancient canon law was still in force, uncurtailed by the Reformation, only the King now occupied the place of the Pope. If this unlimited sway could be exercised by the Church, uncontrolled by the courts of law, what a complete gratification of the utmost ambition of power might thus be obtained! Happily,

* Lingard, vi., 89.

† The proclamation by which it was suppressed, showed evident signs of bad temper. His Majesty complained of the "Insatiable and immeasurable itching boldness of the spirits, tongues, and pens of most men; so as nothing was now left untouched from the top to the bottom, neither in talking nor writing, of the highest mysteries of the Godhead, and the inscrutable counsels of the Trinity, nor of the confused actions of the devils in the lowest pit of hell.....men spare not to aspire God's divine secrets, and audaciously to invade the deepest mysteries that belong to kings and princes," &c.—Howes's *Chronicle*, p. 898.

‡ Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 317.

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however, the judges, interested personally, as well as in their capacity of guardians of the law, were on the alert, and the Parliament showed a due spirit of independence. In spite of the King's lectures and edifying harangues, they stuck to their text as to the grievance of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the great abuse of proclamations. In a Bill sent up to the Lords, they declare that "It is the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lands, lives, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in Parliament."*

In such a temper Parliament was not likely to receive very favourably any measure coming from the archbishop, even though it might be salutary, and much needed for the good of the Church. It was thus that the project which he introduced for improving the revenues of the clergy, met with little attention, even if it were discussed at all. The archbishop's proposal consisted of twenty-eight heads, all bearing upon the miserably dilapidated state of Church property, which was then a great and crying grievance. It was proposed to give power to take tithes in kind, to make abbey land, which had been exempted, liable to tithe, to make all parks and warrens "altered from tillage within the last sixty years,"† all parks disparked, all

Bancroft's proposal for improving revenues of the clergy.

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 322.

† "Altering from tillage" and "depopulation" were constant and crying grievances of these times, and bore especially hardly

lands of parishes utterly depopulated, liable. That the tithes of lambs, and wool, and wood, should be renewed. That it might be lawful "For any well-disposed man or woman to give, purchase, or lay tenements, rents, land, and annuities in fee unto the glebe of the Church, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain." That all lay patrons be forced to take an oath against simony. That a subsidy be granted for redeeming impropriations, to be at the bishop's patronage. "That some order be set down for the repairing of chancels of churches impropriate, which are everywhere in wonderful decay."* These were the chief points of the Bill proposed by the archbishop. But to the MS. in the State Paper Office (Collier says), there is a continuation under the initials, the L. S. This addition goes more in detail into the subject. We find among other minor matters, the following griev-

upon the clergy. Frequent notices of the subject will be found in the following pages. The subjoined letter of Archbishop Laud may serve to illustrate the matter. "One thing more I must tell you, that though I did you this favour to make stay of the hearing till your return, yet for the business itself, I can show you none; partly because I am a great hater of depopulations in any kind, as being one of the greatest mischiefs of this kingdom, and partly because it concerns me very deeply in the particular of my archbishopric. For by reason of decay of tillage in that parish, the rectory, which was thrust upon the archbishopric for better land, and was wont to yield £30 per annum rent, and apportionable fine, is now turned upon my hands, and no man will give me £15 a year, and that without a fine." Laud to Warden of All Souls.—Laud's Works, vi., 520.

* "The country by degrees began to make their churches handsome and cleanly, and not without good cause, for there was not any church work done in fifty years until now."—Howes's *Chronicle*, p. 891.

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ance: "Whereas it is pretended in many places, that by custom there is not any tithe milk to be paid by him that hath not seven calves at the least, by which means some that may keep seven or eight kine will never keep above six; that from henceforth this, as an unreasonable custom, be annulled." There is also this significant proviso: "That it may not be lawful for any minister instituted to any benefice with cure, to demise the mansion-house, glebe land, or any part of the tithes thereof, directly or indirectly, mediately or immediately, to the patron, or to his use."* Although, however, there was much in these proposals which was reasonable and useful, they could get no hearing in Parliament. The members were occupied in systematizing their grievances, and petitioning the King. On July 7, they presented their grievances to him, which were chiefly on matters connected with ecclesiastical administration. On the 23rd, when Parliament was prorogued, the King gave a temperate answer to the grievances, and immediately afterwards directed the archbishop to look closely into all cases of real abuse for the purpose of correcting them.

Parliament busy with their grievances.

Upon this, Archbishop Bancroft wrote a letter to his suffragans, which is a document full of interest, and very illustrative of the state of the Church at that time. He begins, by saying, "Upon the grievances exhibited unto his Majesty, by the lower House of Parliament, he hath been pleased to undertake much on our behalf, and

Archbishop's letter to the bishops.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 352—358.

to lay a great burden upon me, which I am otherwise not able to bear but by the assistance of your lordship and others, our brethren, the bishops. These are, therefore, to pray your lordship to inform yourself how many ministers have two benefices within your diocese, and whether every one of them hath a preaching minister to supply his absence. If not, cause him to supply that defect. If any give your lordship froward answers, suspend them for their contempt, and sequester the fruits of the benefice, and allow a reasonable portion for a curate that is a preacher. Secondly, you are to inform me of the names and degrees of those who have two benefices within your diocese, or one in your diocese and another in another diocese. Thirdly, it is his Majesty's charge that you require all your prebendaries to be resident upon their benefices, and there to preach every Sunday. Fourthly, you must be particular in administering the oath of allegiance to recusants, and to take order that all recusants be excommunicated and denounced in your Cathedral Church; and inasmuch as our excommunications are utterly of them contemned, direct all ministers that they do not bury neither in the church nor churchyard, nor suffer to be buried, any Popish recusants that die excommunicated. You are also to examine very narrowly the proceedings of your commissaries, chancellor, archdeacons, and officials; for while we repose so much trust in them as we do, and they intend little but their own profit, many true complaints and mischiefs do arise. It being also more

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than notorious that many parsons and vicars, and especially such as have two benefices, do suffer their houses to run into decay, you are to take such order that either they themselves shall presently repair their houses, or else do you sequester their livings, allotting a fit portion for them to live upon, and causing the rest to be so employed; for besides that such neglecting of their houses doth argue too much greediness, and is a great scandal to the best affected in their parish, it is very injurious to their successors. There hath been many constitutions formerly made concerning the apparel of ministers, but never was their pride in that respect so great as now it is; from the dean to every curate, nothing being left that way to distinguish a bishop from any of them. You shall find deans usually either in their velvet, damask, or satin cassocks, with their silk nether stocks. Nay, some archdeacons and inferior ministers, having two benefices, are likewise, for the most part, so attired; to omit that their wives, in the cost and vanity of their apparel, do exceed as much, or more; which is the principal motive why there is such exclamation against double-beneficed men, and such as besides their own benefices have some other preferment *sine curâ*. These and some other abuses being often objected unto me, do oftentimes plunge me, as being always ready to cover and excuse our imperfections of the clergy; but I must be forced to leave them if they will not be advised by me." The archbishop then directs that all parish churches should provide themselves a copy of Bishop Jewel's

works, as had been ordered under Elizabeth; and that a strict account should be called for of the collections which had been made under the King's letters for charitable purposes, some of which had been misappropriated.* Nothing definite, however, was done in consequence of this letter. The Parliament met again in the winter, in a very bad temper with the King, and was dissolved by him, by proclamation, without having passed any measure of importance.

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The Convocation having done nothing in this session, but grant a subsidy to the King, expired with the Parliament. It had, however, been by no means idle during its almost seven years' existence. Besides making the 141 canons, ratified by the King, and constituted the canon law of the Church, it had also sanctioned a large treatise, composed partly of canons and partly of introductory and explanatory dissertations on the matter of the canons. The subject of the treatise was "The government of God's Holy Catholic Church and the kingdoms of the whole world." † It is known now as Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, and did not see the light till many years after it was com-

Work of the Convocation. —Overall's *Convocation Book.*

* Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 120—128.

† This book was drawn up by the archbishop, brought by him to the Convocation, in January, 1606, and again introduced in February, 1607. "It appears," says Wake, "by the certificate and subscription of the Prolocutor that it was twice read over and approved of in the lower House." The Convocation of York had also begun to consider it in the same Session, but it appears that they had only got through a small portion of it when the King's writ for their prorogation arrived.—Wake, *On Convocation*, p. 509. See Lathbury's *History of Convocation*, 231—237.

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posed, when it was published by Archbishop Sancroft, to justify the principles of the non-juring party. It was, however, a strange oversight in Sancroft's party to publish the book, as there are several canons in it which clearly lay down that a *de facto* government is, when completely established, to be held in the light of a *de jure* government; and it was upon the very grounds set forth in this book, that Dr. Sherlock took the oaths to King William.* "King James," says Welwood, "thought these points too nice to be much touched upon, and was highly displeased with the members of that Convocation for meddling in matters which he thought were without their sphere. Therefore, he writ that curious letter to Dr. Abbot, the original of which it was my fortune to fall upon." The letter is as follows:

King's letter to Dr. Abbot.

"Good Doctor Abbot—I cannot abstain to give you my judgment in your proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as *rex in Solio*, and *unus gregis in Ecclesiâ*, I am doubly concerned. My title to the Crown nobody calls in question, but they that neither love you nor me; and you guess whom I mean. All that you and your brethren have said of a King in *possession* (for that word, I tell you, is no worse than that you make use of in your canon), concerns not me at

* Burnet's *Own Times*, p. 649, edition 1838. "A very learned divine has told us, upon a solemn occasion, that it was the canons of this Convocation that first enlightened his eyes, and persuaded him of the lawfulness of the oaths to his Majesty."—Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 31.

all. I am the next heir, and the Crown is mine by all rights but that of conquest; and Mr. Solicitor has sufficiently explained my own thoughts concerning the nature of kingship in general, and concerning the nature of it, *ut in meâ personâ*, and I believe you were all of his opinion; at least none of you said aught contrary to it at the time he spoke to you from me. But you know all of you, as I think, that my reason of calling you together was to give your judgments how far a Christian and a Protestant king may concur to assist his neighbours to shake off their obedience to their own sovereign, upon the account of oppression, tyranny, or what else you like to name it. In the late Queen's time this kingdom was very free in assisting the Hollanders both with arms and advice; and none of your coat ever told me that any scrupled at it in her reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know that it came from some of yourselves to raise scruples about this matter. And albeit I have often told my mind concerning *jus regium in subditos*, as in May last, in the Star Chamber, upon the occasion of Hales's pamphlet, yet I never took any notice of these scruples till the affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. All my neighbours called on me to concur in the treaty between Holland and Spain, and the honour of the nation will not suffer the Hollanders to be abandoned, especially after so much money and men spent in their quarrel. Therefore, I was of the mind to call my clergy together, to satisfy not so much me as the world about me of the justice of

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owning the Hollanders at this time. This I needed not have done, and you force me to say I wish I had not.* You have dipped too deep into what all kings reserve among the *arcana imperii*, and whatever aversion you may profess against God's being the author of evil, you have stumbled upon the threshold of that opinion, in saying upon the matter that even tyranny is God's authority, and should be reverenced as such. If the King of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdom, you leave me to seek for others to fight for it; you tell us on the matter beforehand, his authority is God's authority if he prevail. Mr. Doctor, I have no time to express my mind further in this thorny business. I shall give you my orders about it by Mr. Solicitor; and until then meddle no more in it, for they are edge tools, or rather like that weapon that's said to cut with one edge and cure with the other. I commit you to God's protection, good Dr. Abbot, and rest

"Your good friend,

"JAMES, R." †

* The King is probably here alluding to Canon xxviii.: "If any man shall affirm either that the subjects when they shake off the yoke of their obedience to their sovereigns, and set up a form of government among themselves, after their own humours, do not therein very wickedly, or that it is lawful for any bordering kings, through ambition and malice, to invade their neighbours, or that when any such new forms of government, begun by rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the authority in them is not of God....he doth greatly err."

† Preface to Bishop Overall's *Convocation Book*, republished in the Anglo-Catholic Library. Oxford, 1844. Welwood's *Memoirs*, 32—34.

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The divines must have been considerably startled at receiving this communication. Certainly the last thing that had been in their thoughts during their prolonged dissertations on the foundations of government, was to say anything to offend their royal master. The captious displeasure of James, however, prevented him from ratifying the strange medley of canons which the convocation had constructed.* Its labours thus proved abortive, and were not inflicted on the Church.

Progress of the design for restoring Scotch Episcopacy.

The irritation which was doubtless produced in the King's mind by the stubborn spirit of independence shown by his English Parliament, must have been a good deal soothed by the success which continued to attend his efforts for establishing Episcopacy among the Presbyterian Scotch. At present all went well. The Perth Parliament had given the bishops their estate and titles, the Linlithgow Assembly had made way for their jurisdiction by constituting them perpetual moderators in the local synods, and now a General Assembly held at Glasgow this year (June 8), extended and confirmed their power. It must have taxed the policy and skill of the Earl of Dunbar to the uttermost to bring about this result, as the ministers were becoming very jealous and alarmed. It was doubtless not without

* Take as a specimen Canon vii.: "If any man shall therefore affirm either that the priestly office, and *authority ecclesiastical* which Noah had before the flood, was by that deluge determined, or that it was by the election of his offspring conferred again upon him; or that Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were neither priests, nor had any ecclesiastical authority, until they were chosen thereto by their children and nephews, &c., he doth greatly err."

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reason called "a costly assembly,"* but whatever the cost, the success was remarkable. The King addressed a letter to the Assembly, censuring the "late anarchy" which had prevailed in the Church, and saying that he had hoped "that they would have made their application to him for establishing the ecclesiastical government upon the primitive model," but as this had not been done, he had convened the present assembly to "show his majesty's zeal for the glory of God, and the inexcusableness of those who refuse to concur with him for the interest of the Church."

After hearing this letter, the Assembly proceeded to business. There was the semblance of a debate continued for some days, then they came to a series of resolutions, all tending to confirm, magnify, and extend the authority of the bishops. They were to be perpetual moderators, to pronounce excommunications, to ordain, and induct, and deprive ministers. Ministers at their admission were to swear obedience to them. They were to hold visitations, and all were bound to attend them. In order to save appearances a little, a power was given to the General Assembly to depose a bishop for ill conduct, but this must be done with "his majesty's advice and consent." Taking into account the real temper of the Scotch ministers, and their very decided views, as we see them proved both before and after this, it is truly wonderful that these resolutions should have been agreed upon

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 82.

by the Assembly, with only three dissenting voices.*

Consecration of the Scotch bishops at London House.

Nothing now was wanting but the ceremony of consecration to put the Scotch bishops on a par with their English brethren. It had been prudently determined to gain jurisdiction and authority for them while as yet they were as to their orders mere Presbyterian ministers; but now that the foundation had been skilfully laid and ratified by the General Assembly, the crowning act was to be performed, and the bishops elect of Scotland were to receive from the hands of the English prelates the sacred gift of the Apostolical Succession. A bishop is not canonically consecrated by less than three of the highest order in the ministry; three of the Scotch ministers were therefore directed to proceed to England that they might receive the imposition of hands, and be able to communicate the gift to their brethren in Scotland. The three chosen were, Spotswood, Archbishop of Glasgow, Lamb, Bishop of Brechen, and Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway. Spotswood raised an objection, fearing, as he said, to be misunderstood by the brethren at home, lest by accepting consecration from the English bishops they should be thought to be putting themselves into subjection to the Church of England. The King answered, that to guard against this inference, he had directed that neither of the English archbishops should take part in the consecration, but only some of the bishops of particular sees.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 359—63; Heylin's *Presbyterians*; Calderwood.

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This satisfied the Scotch bishops-elect, and they declared themselves ready to receive consecration. Now, however, another difficulty arose. Bishop Andrewes considered that they ought first to be ordained priests, because they had not been ordained by a bishop; Archbishop Bancroft argued that this was unnecessary, not upon the ground (as some seem to have supposed*) that orders given by Presbyters without bishops were valid; but on the high ecclesiastical ground that the episcopal character might be conveyed at once, even to a layman, and that it contained in itself the lower functions of deacon and priest. Thus St. Ambrose and Nectarius, two laymen, were consecrated bishops—the first of Milan, and the other of Constantinople; and Eucherius, a lay monk, was consecrated Bishop of Lyons. Bishop Andrewes, respecting these ancient precedents, waived his scruple, and the three Scotchmen were duly consecrated in the chapel of London House, October 21, 1610, by George, Bishop of London; Lancelot, Bishop of Ely; Richard, Bishop of Rochester; and Henry, Bishop of Worcester.†

They were now competent (to use the words of the King), "being consecrated themselves, to propagate that character, and ordain at home." But unruly Presbyterians might scoff at their sacred office, refuse to recognise their dignity, and treat them with scant respect. True, they had been made moderators in all the synods, but this would

* Spotswood in Collier, *Church Hist.*, vii., 364.
† Collier, vii., 365; Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 388.

not ensure them reverence and obedience from laymen. The great might refuse to pay them deference, the poorer sort to bend beneath their rule. To provide against this danger, to give them a real and effective power, which all must learn to recognise and fear, the King scrupled not to put into their hands that instrument which had proved so efficacious in England—he established the Court of High Commission in Scotland. The bishops were made commissioners.* Armed with this terrible and irresponsible power, they would be able to contend with advantage against even their most stubborn enemies. The oath *ex officio*, which superseded the necessity of bringing evidence, and the unbailable imprisonment which lighted upon those who declined it—these, as they had been wielded by Archbishop Bancroft during his six years' sway, were promised to the delighted Scotchmen, who returned to their country elated with the greatness of their office and the fulness of their powers. Certain instructions were furnished by the King for the conduct of the court and the bishops. These, as might be expected, breathe a still higher Church strain than any that had preceded them. Lay elders are declared to have "no authority in Scripture, nor precedent in the primitive Church." Not only bishops, but deans and archdeacons, have their functions regulated, and all

Court of High Commission established for Scotland.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 365. It would appear that the Court of High Commission was established in Scotland the year previous to the consecration of the bishops. See Cunningham's *Church Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii., c. i.

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appears to be comfortably and satisfactorily established on the Anglican model. Murmurs, however, are soon heard from the great ones of the land at the extraordinary powers of the Court of High Commission,* and the bishop-hating nature of the Scotch was not to be subdued so easily as the King and his prelates seem to have fancied.

Death of Bancroft. His character.

Before a fortnight had elapsed after the consecration of the Scotch bishops, the English primate had breathed his last.† Bancroft was a prelate whose character it is difficult to dwell upon with satisfaction and pleasure. It is possible that he may have done the Church good service by his violent repression of Puritanism, but it was at the cost of considerable oppression and much obloquy. It is under his strict and searching administration that we trace the beginning of the unpopularity of the Church, not only with the Puritans, but with the laity in general. Not content to reserve his temporal power for extreme cases, and a last remedy, but making a constant and habitual use of it to further all his designs, he soon attached to it an especial odium, and came to be regarded by many as a persecuting tyrant. Those ministers who had substantially conformed he subjected to a new trial, by the device of a test which reached to their thoughts and opinions, and many men who would have gradually ripened into firm friends, were thus embittered into open enemies of the Church. He had the strictness, without the forbearance and

Unpopularity of the Church with the laity under him.

* Collier, vii., 367.

† November 2, 1610.

geniality of Whitgift, the high notions without the wit and learning of Andrewes. He disgusted the great by his lack of hospitality,* and frightened those of a lower rank by his passion and violence. Yet, on the other hand, he was an earnest, devoted, and untiring worker for what he conceived to be the interests of the Church. He was without suspicion of unduly favouring his own relations. At his death he left only a fortune of six thousand pounds, "no sum to speak a single man covetous," says Fuller, "who had sat six years in the See of Canterbury, and somewhat longer in London."†

* "This I may truly say, that for his predecessor Whitgift, and his successor Abbot, I never heard nor read anything tending to their disparagement: but on him some unhappy wit vented this pasquin:

"'Here lies his grace in cold earth clad,
Who died for want of what he had.'"—
Wilson's *Hist. of James I.*, p. 53.

† *Church Hist.*, x., iii., 45.

CHAPTER V.

Bishops desire Andrewes for Primate—Abbot appointed by influence of Lord Dunbar—His character—Puritanism at Oxford—Laud first comes into notice—Williams at Cambridge; Puritanism there—Promotion heaped on Laud and Williams—Wretched state of the Country clergy—The King writes against Vorstius—The new translation of the Bible—Burning of Legate and Wightman—Character of Bishop Neile—Foundation of the Charter House—Reappearance of the Puritans—Death of Prince Henry—Marriage of Princess Elizabeth—Divorce case of Lady Essex—Characters of Bishops Bilson and Neile affected—Founding of Wadham College at Oxford—A new Parliament—The court divines offend the Commons—Case of Edmund Peacham—The Comedy of Ignoramus at Cambridge—Selden's treatise on Tithes—Death and character of Bishop Rudde, of St. David's—Death of Isaac Casaubon.

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THE death of Archbishop Bancroft was a critical moment for the Church of England, and very much depended on the selection of his successor. It was now to be seen whether the harsh measures, which he had not scrupled to use, were to be the introduction to a time of general conformity which should permit the gradual relaxation of the strictness of authority, or whether, by an opposite course of policy being at once adopted, their effect should only survive in exasperation and ill-blood.

The ravages of an epidemic or a conflagration are often most useful, if they awaken and compel attention to neglected sanitary laws, or the hitherto unheeded requirements of social life; so, a storm of persecution may be the preface to a happy and flourishing state of the Church. The bishops feeling the importance of the matter, met in all haste upon Bancroft's death, to consult together as to the prelate to be recommended to the King for his successor. They were divided between Overall and Andrewes, but most of them inclined towards Andrewes, who was certainly the first divine of the day for learning and talent, and who was an especial favourite with the King, by whose side he had just been engaged in fighting the battles against Bellarmine.* Whether the bishops actually recommended Andrewes to the King for the primacy seems uncertain. Perhaps they felt so sure that his majesty could select no one else, that they may not have thought it desirable to show themselves over-forward in the matter. But even if they did recommend him, there was an influence at work more powerful than theirs. Almost the only transaction which had proceeded with unbroken success for James since he came to the crown of England, was his scheme for restoring the Scotch Episcopacy. It had doubtless been adroitly managed, and the King felt that he owed a debt of gratitude to the politic Earl of Dunbar, who had conducted the whole business. But Dunbar had been greatly

Bishops desire Andrewes for Primate.

* In his treatises, *Tortura Torti* and *Responsio ad Bellarminum*.

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assisted in his negotiations by Dr. George Abbot then Master of University College, Oxford, his chaplain and friend, who had encouraged him when he almost despaired, and pointed out to him the way of smoothing over the rugged obstinacy of the Presbyterians.* His influence, therefore, was earnestly used to obtain the Primacy for Abbot. The King consented, and Lord Dunbar obtained the royal sign-manual to the appointment before the bishops had heard of the plot. It was an appointment extremely distasteful to most of them. Abbot was a strong Calvinist, and an open favourer of Puritanical views.† Though a good and honest man, he was yet not one to take a leading position by his talents, or to command respect by his strength of character. He was narrow-minded, and infected with party-spirit. The author of several feeble controversial treatises, he had never produced any work of solidity and learning. In his book on the *Visibility of the Church*, he groped painfully for the truth among the Berengarians and Albigenses, instead of taking the common-sense and catholic view of Field and Andrewes. He had spent his life either in the University or attending on great patrons, and had never known practically the labours of a parish cure.‡ An able man, of a broad catholic mind, who would have

Abbot appointed by influence of Lord Dunbar

His character

* *Vide* Wrangham's *Life of Abbot.*

† It is curious enough that the Puritans themselves looked upon Abbot as hostile to them, and feared his appointment.—See Lathbury's *Hist. of Convocation*, p. 238, note.

‡ Anthony Wood.

followed out the main objects of Bancroft's policy without displaying his bitterness and severity, might have done everything for the Church. Abbot was not the man to do anything for it, save to reduce all to disorder and confusion. The King doubtless was fond of him. When on his progress from Scotland to London, Abbot, as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, had made his acquaintance at Woodstock.* It was to Abbot rather than to any other of the divines of the Lower House that the King had addressed his letter of remonstrance as to the proceedings of Convocation. Within two years he had been promoted to two Sees,† and now, having scarce remained a year in the See of London, he is advanced to the highest dignity of the Church.‡ The King's favour reached his brother also. Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol, was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, on the

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* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 53.

† The constant translation of bishops at this time was a scandalous grievance. Scarce any of King James's bishops but held two or three Sees successively. Take, for instance, the case of Bishop Neile. He is admitted by Heylin (*Life of Laud*) to have been in no way especially distinguished as a divine, yet he was made successively Bishop of Rochester, Litchfield, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and Archbishop of York.

‡ Besides the above, another reason may be adduced, which might dispose the King to promote Abbot. Many of the divines were unhappily flatterers of the King. Abbot seems to have outdone them all. He wrote a preface to an account of the Gowries conspiracy, in which he says that James was "zealous as David, learned as Solomon, religious as Josias, careful of spreading the truth as Constantine, just as Moses, undefiled as Jehosaphat or Hezekias, clement as Theodosius," &c.—Wrangham's *Life of Abbot*, note. Yet Abbot was not a servile time-server, as he afterwards fully proved.

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death of Dr. Holland, and afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Worcester.

Puritanism at Oxford.

A continued succession of divinity professors of a strong Puritan bias had made the University of Oxford full of Calvinistic and Puritanical notions. Humphreys, President of Magdalen, who held the chair till 1596, was an open and avowed Nonconformist. Dr. Holland, Rector of Exeter, who came after him, was a more moderate man, but of the same principles, and Dr. Holland was succeeded by Dr. Abbot, who continued the Puritanical traditions. Besides these there was the vast learning and virtue of Dr. Reynolds, who favoured the same views, though in no narrow-minded spirit. "By the power and practices of these men," says Heylin, "the face of that university was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England; all the Calvinian rigours were received as the established doctrines of the Church; Episcopacy was maintained by halves; there was no care taken for the forms and orders of the Church, the surplice was disused in officiating the Divine service."* If any preacher ventured to impugn the Calvinistic dogmatism in the university pulpit, he was censured and inveighed against.† Amidst the old gothic buildings, testifying of Catholic antiquity, you might fancy yourself at Geneva sitting at the feet of Calvin or Beza. It was to remedy this Puritanical disease, that Bancroft, though a Cambridge man, had been made Chancellor of Oxford; but the primate was over-

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 61. † *Ibid*, 67, 68.

whelmed with the business of combating the Puritans throughout the land, and either had not leisure or opportunity for an assault upon the University. One of the preachers censured and opposed by the Puritanical professors was William Laud, of St. John's, a name destined to occupy a large space in the after history of the Church. Elected president of his college, his election had been appealed against and disputed. The king heard the appeal, and on August 29, he decided in favour of Laud. It was often remarked afterwards that this day being the one appointed to commemorate the beheading of St. John the Baptist, was a strange omen of Laud's subsequent fate. Laud was, from the first, accused of Romanism, and it is remarkable of him that his opinions never seem to have undergone the slightest change. Even his enemies confessed that he had ever held firm to them, that "beginning with him at Oxon, and so going to Canterbury, he was unmoved and unchanged."* Active, zealous, and earnest, thoroughly hating Calvinism and Puritanism, and little scrupulous as to the means he used to combat them,† Laud soon began to be the leader of opposition in the University against the Abbots and their disciples, and under his influence Oxford gradually assumed the character the very opposite

Laud first comes into notice.

* Sir E. Dering, Preface to *Speeches in Matter of Religion*; see Joseph Hall's *Letter to W. L.*

† "There is abundant evidence that from the first Laud had that habit of ferreting out the faults of his brother clergymen, and reporting them privately in higher quarters, which the unfriendly archbishop (Abbot) attributes to him."—Masson, *Life of Milton*, i., 314.

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to that which marked it at the beginning of the reign of James.

Williams at Cambridge.

While Laud was coming into prominent notice at Oxford, his great rival, Williams, was gaining high distinction at Cambridge, by his skill as a theological disputant, and the reputation of an active, shrewd, and intelligent man. At this period the University of Cambridge appears to have eclipsed Oxford in the learning and renown of its divines, and in the degree of royal favour which lighted upon it. Most of the greatest prelates of the time—Whitgift, Bancroft, Andrewes, Overall, Hall, Davenant, were Cambridge men. The incubus of Puritanism appears not to have weighed so heavily upon Cambridge as upon Oxford. There had been no Sampson or Humphreys, men who by their conspicuous position were necessarily examples to the University, to invest, by their fanatical advocacy, the principles of Puritanism with a romance and excitement. Neither had Cambridge its Dr. Reynolds, by the splendour of his acquirements and genius to draw all men's admiration to him. Still the University was by no means free from the prevailing disease. In 1610, "William Amese, Fellow of Christ's College, on St. Thomas's day, had, to use his own expression, 'the place of watchman for an hour in the tower of the University,'" and used his opportunity to inveigh against sports, games, interludes, &c. "His sermon gave much offence, because in him there was a concurrence of much Nonconformity."* A rigid Calvinism was enforced

Puritanism there.

* Fuller's *History of Cambridge*, 41.

by Whitaker, the framer of the Lambeth articles, and when Williams was a student, their theological abridgments were taken from Chemnitius and Musculus, Peter Martyr, and Calvin.* To oppose absolute decrees was still thought heresy, and to throw doubts upon indefectible grace little short of deadly sin. Puritanical influences, in fact, continued to prevail for some years afterwards. When Milton entered, in 1625, many masters of arts systematically absented themselves from Church service. No attention was paid to fasts or festivals, or to the directions of the Rubric. Extemporary prayers were frequently used; the students sat or leaned in irreverential postures, refused to bow at the name of Jesus, and during the creed turned designedly towards the west.† The prevalence of these influences soon embroiled the University with the King. Upon the death of the famous Earl of Salisbury, who had been chancellor, the court party nominated Lord Northampton, but the Puritans, looking upon him as almost a Papist, put into nomination Prince Charles, then only twelve years old, and recorded a minority of votes in his favour. Upon this arose a dilemma. The King was angry at his son being nominated without his consent; Lord Northampton would not accept the office, as having been elected in opposition to the Prince, and the University was under a "black cloud of displeasure." "The King exclaimed against them for heady, inconsiderate, swayed by Puritanical

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 15.
† Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 115.

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factions," and it needed all the dexterity of Williams, who was proctor at the time, to bring back the light of the royal countenance upon them.*

Promotion heaped on Laud and Williams.

Both Laud and Williams acquired an early academical reputation; both of them also met with liberal and powerful patrons.† Laud found a fast friend in Bishop Neile, who held in succession no less than six sees; and Williams a strong and able patron in Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, in whose house he lived as chaplain for five years. Within a few years Laud was presented to the Livings of Stamford, Cuckstone, and Norton, made Prebendary of Westminster and Lincoln, chaplain to the King, Archdeacon of Huntington, and Dean of Gloucester. Williams received from the Lord Chancellor the Benefices of Walgrave and Grafton Underwood; stalls in the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Peterborough, Hereford, and St. David's; a rich sinecure in Wales, and, from the King, the Deanery of Salisbury. No doubt both were men of conspicuous merit, but promotion came rather thick and frequent upon them.

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 21.

† The *naïveté* with which their biographers record their ambitious self-seeking, and the substantial rewards it brought them, is sufficiently amusing. "Laud was no sooner settled in the *presidentship* of his college, but he conceived himself advanced one step at the least towards a *precedency* in the Church, and therefore thought it was high time to cast an eye upon the Court." Heylin's *Laud*, p. 64.—Williams, as chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, "Understood the soil on which he had set his foot, that it was rich and fertile, able with good tendance to yield a crop after the largest dimensions of his desires." "In about five years that he lived with him, he compassed a plentiful fortune to himself from that bounty which denied him nothing."—Hacket's *Williams*, i., 27, 29.

Wretched state of the country clergy.

At this time the great body of the clergy throughout the country were overwhelmed with poverty. "Williams," says Hacket, "pitied his poor brethren, who had scarce enough to feed them, and keep them warm."* Herbert's country parson is bid to welcome any minister "however poor and mean." He is not to expect anything better than the rank of apprentices for his children; he is not to be "too submissive to the gentry," and is to make up his mind to the "general ignominy cast on the profession."† Promotion did not penetrate beyond the hangers-on to the Court who were over-

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 19.

† "At present the revenues of the English clergy are generally very small and insufficient, so that a shopkeeper or common artisan would hardly change their conditions with ordinary pastors of the Church. This is the great reproach and shame of the English Reformation, and will one day prove the ruin of Church and State. The clergy are brought into contempt and low esteem. They are accounted by many as the dross and refuse of the nation. Men think it a stain to their blood to place their sons in that function, and women are ashamed to marry with any of them." Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, i., 269.—Doubtless the country clergy were generally at this time, as well as later in the century, as Lord Macaulay has said, "a plebeian class." But when this noble writer goes on to say, "During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of *noble descent* took orders" (Macaulay's *Hist.*, chap. iii.), he somewhat overdoes the matter. Dr. Montague, Bishop of Winchester after Bilson, was of noble birth, and uncle to the Lord Chamberlain. Sons of the Earl of Westmoreland and Lord Cameron, and a brother of Lord Gray took holy orders. The Rev. Dr. Gray, Rector of Burbidge, became Earl of Kent, 1640 Dr. Henry Compton was brother to the Earl of Northampton, Dr. Greenvill to the Earl of Bath, Dr. Crew son of Lord Crew; Rev. J. North, Fellow of Jesus, Cambridge, son of Lord North; Rev. Dr. Brereton son of Lord Brereton. These all fall nearly within the period mentioned.—*Vide* Archdeacon Barnabas Oley's Preface to Herbert's *Country Parson*.

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whelmed with good things while their brethren starved. Williams was so rich, that as his biographer admits, "he lived like a magnifico" in his country house, entertaining all the great people of the neighbourhood. His concerts, all furnished by members of his own household, were the talk of the country. "It was sumptuous, I confess," says Hacket, "for one of his level in those days."* The mean estate and ignorance of the great body of the clergy, and the excessive heaping of patronage upon a few distinguished ones, was the great cause of the growth and spread of Puritanism. "The Puritans," says Hacket, "had nothing but much preaching to make them popular. No marvel if they had crept into the good opinion of weak judges, who resided much and taught their charge themselves; and that others suffered hard construction, who seldom spake to their congregation but through the hollow trunk of their curates and hirelings."† The abuse of patronage, non-residence, and pluralities were eating into the heart of the Church; there needed some vigorous, wise, and

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 35.

† *Life of Williams*, i., 34. Thus Wither satirizes the clergy:

"For you at first great humbleness shall see,
Whilst their estates and fortunes meaner be,
They are industrious, and take pains to teach,
And twice a week shall be the least they preach.
But if they once but reach a vicarage,
Or be inducted to some parsonage,
Men must content themselves and think it well,
If once a month they hear the sermon bell;
But if to any higher place they reach,
Once in a twelvemonth is enough to preach."

Masson's *Milton*, i., 436.

temperate hand at the helm, to steer the ship into safer channels. Chap. V. 1611.

Unfortunately, neither the King nor the new archbishop were likely to succeed in, or even to attempt, such a work. Instead of directing his attention to the ecclesiastical affairs of his own kingdom, King James was now occupied in a senseless dispute with Conrad Vorstius, the Leyden professor, and was making himself ridiculous in the eyes of Europe by pretending to argue as a theologian, while at the same time he used all his power as a King to crush his unfortunate opponent. Vorstius had succeeded Arminius in the divinity chair at Leyden, and had carried to a pernicious excess the freedom of speculation which had been begun by his more prudent predecessor. It was, however, in every way disgraceful to James to heap upon him every epithet of abuse and contumely, to suggest the stake as a fitting punishment for such a wretch, and to instruct Sir Ralph Winwood, his ambassador at the Hague, to inform the States that they must choose between "the friendship of Vorstius, and that of his master." * The King writes against Vorstius.

By this time the parish churches throughout the country were furnished with the Bible of the new translation, which was published in the beginning of this year, "most beautifully printed," says Fuller,† and generally welcomed and approved by all classes. There were, however, objections made to it by some, as might have been expected. The Ro- The new translation of the Bible.

* Collier, vii., 372.
† Fuller, *Church Hist.*, x., iii., 48.

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manists said, If the old translation was good, why did they alter it? If it was not good, why did they obtrude it on the people? Besides constructing this dilemma, they found fault with the uncertainty produced (as they said) by various renderings being put in the margin; acting in the spirit of Pope Sixtus V., who ordained that no variety of readings was to be printed with the Vulgate; thus infallibly decreeing the ordinary text.* On the other hand, the Puritans looked upon the new translation with some distaste, because it had superseded the Geneva version with their favourite marginal notes of Calvinian theology. But, upon the whole, this great work was well received, as indeed it well deserved to be. It is certainly the most useful work in which King James was concerned, and has gone far to redeem him from the contempt and reprobation of posterity. As we contemplate him, as he stands in the school quadrangle at Oxford, with the Bible in his hand, we forget his feeble tyranny and coarse buffoonery, in the remembrance of the fact that Protestant Christianity has found its great bulwark, guide, and solace in that most accurate and felicitous† of versions of the Word of God, which was perfected under his influence and direction.

* Fuller, x., iii., 50.

† "This translation is held to be the perfection of our English language. I shall not dispute this proposition, but in consequence of the principle of adherence to the original versions, it is not the language of the reign of James I. It abounds, in fact, with obsolete phrascology, and with single words, long since abandoned, or retained only in provincial use."—Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, ii., 366.

That admirable scholar, Dean Trench, thus speaks of our version: "All is clear, correct, lucid, happy, awakening continual

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Burning of Legate and Wightman.

We approach now a period which every true lover of the Church of England must regard with pain. An event marks this year with a black stain of an especial foulness. The very fires of the Inquisition are seen blazing again in Smithfield, and another Protestant prince excuses and justifies the hideous butcheries of the Romanists. It is horrible to read of Jesuit priests being hung, drawn, and quartered; for, if many of them were foreign emissaries of treason, many, doubtless, were led to the post of danger simply by a desire to minister to their flocks and convert the heretic; but it is far more fearful to contemplate the deliberate, judicial murders which were this year perpetrated. The priests, in entering England, knew of their danger. The laws were of old standing and sufficiently notorious. The body to which they belonged was certainly stained with the crimes of sedition, murder, and attempted wholesale assassination: outraged society revenged itself upon them by a cruel proscription. They were men of intelligence, activity, cunning; at their command were money, influence, unlimited foreign support: thus the contest between them and the Government was somewhat of an equal one, their lives were invested with the attraction of romance, and their deaths surrounded with the halo of martyrdom. But the poor, unsupported,

admiration by the rhythmic beauty of the periods, the instinctive art with which the style rises and falls with the subject, the skilful surmounting of difficulties the most real, the diligence and success with which almost all which was best in preceding translations has been in it retained and embodied."—Trench *On the Authorized Version*, p. 6.

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disowned, half-crazed Anabaptist or Arian, had none of these palliatives in suffering, and for attacking and persecuting such there could neither be urged political expediency nor any real danger to the Christian faith. Every man's hand was against such as these; the Puritan turned from them with a loathing equal to that of the most zealous churchman; the annalist of the wrongs inflicted upon the "godly brethren" can contemplate their burning without a protest, and the acutest Church disputant of the day can claim it with exultation, as a proof of the orthodoxy of his creed. *

Bartholomew Legate was an Essex man, "of a comely person and dark complexion," in age about forty years. His life had been unblameable, and he was excellently skilled in the Scriptures. Unfortunately, however, he had drawn from the study of the sacred writings opinions very similar to those of the Unitarians in our own day, and believed himself bound to deny the divinity of the Saviour and to refuse to address Him in prayer. Being informed against to the Bishop of London, the fame of his heresy soon reached the King, and James, with his strange fondness for religious disputation, caused him to be often brought before him. But Legate was a man of a bold, determined spirit, and the royal disputant could get no advantage over him. On one occasion he so stoutly

* Neal relates the burning of Legate and Wightman without a word of condemnation. Crakanthorp *(Defensio Eccles. Ang.)* exults in these burnings as a proof of the Church's orthodoxy.

withstood him, that the King, either inflamed by zeal or irritated by pique, offered him the unmanly outrage of spurning him with his foot, but neither fair words nor ill usage could convince the heretic. Before the Bishops' Court, in the Consistory of St. Paul's, he was more bold and defiant even than with the King. He denied and scoffed at the authority of the court, and often declared that he would sue the bishops who had committed him to Newgate, for false imprisonment. He seemed to court his fate by the indiscretion and audacity of his tone. That fate was not long in overtaking him. King, Bishop of London, "finally convented him in the Consistory of St. Paul's, on the 3rd of March. And foreseeing that his proceedings herein would meet with many listening ears, prying eyes, and prating tongues, chose many reverend bishops, able divines, and learned lawyers, to assist him. So that the Consistory, so replenished for the time being, seemed not so much a large court as a little convocation."* Was there, in all that assembly, any man who really felt ashamed and abashed at the horrible farce in which he was acting a part, or did every one of the grave men there assembled, in his heart believe that the burning of a heretic was an acceptable piacular offering to the offended majesty of Heaven? It is idle to speculate, but we do not read in this case of any earnest protest, like that offered by good old John Foxe to Queen Elizabeth; all were, with one consent, agreed

* Fuller.

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that the "obdurate, contumacious, and incorrigible heretic" must die. It is evident from Fuller's account that there were "doubts, difficulties, and legal scruples" in the way, but all these were speedily got rid of;* for, on March 11, the King directs his letters, under the Privy Seal, to the Lord Chancellor, to prepare the writ *de heretico comburendo*, under the Broad Seal, and direct it to

* The way in which they were got rid of, has now been made known to the world by the publication of the Egerton Papers (Camden Society), from which we give the following letters of Archbishop Abbot, to the Chancellor:—

"Lambeth, Jan. 21, 1611-12.

"My very Good Lord—His Majesty, being careful that justice should proceed against these two blasphemous heretics, Legate and Wightman, gave me in charge, that before the term, when the judges drew towards the town, I should make his Majesty's pleasure known unto your lordship. And that is, that your lordship should call unto you three or four of the judges, and take their resolution concerning the force of law in that behalf; that so, with expedition, these evil persons may receive the recompense of their pride and impiety. His Majesty did think the judges of the King's Bench to be fittest to be dealt withal in this argument, as unto whom the knowledge of causes capital doth most ordinarily appertain. And, as I conceived, his Highness did *not much desire* that the Lord Coke should be called thereunto, lest by his *singularity in opinion* he should give stay in the business. So hoping shortly to see your lordship abroad, your lordship's servant,

"G. Cant."

"Lambeth, Jan. 22, 1611-12.

"My very Good Lord—I cannot choose but well approve your lordship's *choice of the judges*. And if any more should be added, I distrust not but Justice Crooke would do well. Mr. Justice Williams was with me the other day, who maketh no doubt but that the law is clear to burn them. He told me also of his utter dislike of all the Lord Coke his courses; and that himself and Baron Altham did once very roundly let the Lord Coke know their mind, that he was not such a master as he did

the sheriffs of London; and on March 18, Bartholomew Legate was burnt to death in Smithfield.* Vast, we are told, was the concourse of people; the whole city poured forth its thousands to witness the unwonted sight; but was there one of all those thousands whose heart was touched with penitence, or whose soul was warmed with charity, at the sight of this revolting exhibition of torture inflicted in the name of the loving Saviour of mankind? We could have wished that it had fallen to the lot of some other bishop than King, whose bold stand in the matter of the divorce-trial of next year, does him so much credit, to inaugurate this *auto-da-fé* in Protestant England.

Character of Bishop Neile.

The next prelate whose lawn was stained with blood, was of a meaner sort. Neile, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, was too good a courtier not to be eager to follow the fashion approved of by the King, and to countenance and support the Smithfield murder by a similar one in his own diocese. If we were to write down against this prelate all that is deliberately stated of him by his Metropolitan, Archbishop Abbot,† his character

take on him, to deliver what he list for law, and to despise all other. I find the King's attorney and solicitor to be thoroughly resolved in this present business. And so wishing your lordship ease and health,

"I remain, your lordship's very ready to do you service,

"G. CANT."

* Fuller's *Church Hist.*, x., iv., 6—12.

† In the minute account of the archbishop's proceedings, in the case of the Divorce of the Countess of Essex.—Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

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would be by no means a flattering one. Abbot was bid to beware of him, for that "he was ever and in all things naught. That he did all the worst offices that ever he could, and was still stirring the coals to procure to himself a reputation." "I know not," said another, "what the Bishop of Litchfield does among you, but he hath made a shift to be taken for a knave generally with us in the court." These sketches of his character, the archbishop found by no means overdrawn; he has left on record that "he dealt ill with the late Lord Treasurer (Salisbury), and most falsely with the Archbishop (Bancroft), and was detested by both of them." * The same time-serving, fawning spirit, which made Bishop Neile so odious to his brethren, in all probability made him eager to please the King by bringing a heretic to execution. The victim was found in one Edward Wightman, of Burton-on-Trent, who is very unnecessarily accused of holding no less than nine damnable heresies, the names of which he had probably never heard till his trial. This poor man was judicially burnt at Litchfield, within a month of Legate (April 11), and people might well ask one another with horror and amazement what was coming upon the land. Was the religion of Christ to be turned into a curse and a disgrace to them instead of a blessing and a glory? Was the Church, to which they were constrained to belong, thus to cover itself with the foul stain of shedding innocent blood? That there was a very

* Case of the Countess of Essex.—Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

strong feeling throughout the land upon the subject is evident, for Fuller acknowledges that this burning of heretics "much startled common people, pitying all in pain, and prone to asperse justice! itself with cruelty, because of the novelty and hideousness of the punishment." The persecutors were, in fact, afraid to proceed in their new course of severity. The feelings of Englishmen could not be outraged safely beyond a certain point. "King James politicly preferred that heretics hereafter, though condemned, should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison." This commutation of sentence was, in fact, applied to the case of a Spanish Arian, who had at that time been *condemned to die*, and who, through policy or fear, was suffered instead to "linger out his life in Newgate." "God," says Fuller, "may seem well pleased with this seasonable severity, for the fire quickly went out for want of fuel."* This horrible reflection, so different from the general spirit of the quaint old historian's remarks, may serve as an index to the way in which even good men *could* regard these cruel burnings, long ago. Not the less, however, ought we to put the stamp of our utmost reprobation upon them, for the spirit of persecution still lingers among us; and if we cannot, and would not, now assist at a bodily execution, yet party is still ready to trample down and crush its victim, and to bless God for the acts of its own malevolence.

We turn with pleasure and relief from the record

* Fuller, *Church Hist.*, x., iv., 13, 14.

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of these sad persecutions to the contemplation of a noble act of Christian benevolence. Thomas Sutton, a gentleman of Knaith, in Lincolnshire, had made a princely fortune as a merchant, and at his death bequeathed his vast wealth to found a noble institution for the support of decayed gentlemen, and the instruction of the young. Whether Sutton's previous life and character corresponded with the greatness of his bequest, may be a matter of doubt. Bacon uses the curious expression, "That mass of wealth, which was in the owner little better than a stack or heap of muck,"* which seems to imply a close and niggard disposition.† Mr. Disraeli‡ thinks that the character of Volpone in Ben Jonson's *Comedy of the Fox*, was intended for Sutton. This Gifford indignantly combats, and in his preface to Ben Jonson, pays this eloquent tribute to the character of the munificent founder of the Charter-house:—"Sutton inherited a large estate; he was one of the greatest traders of his time; he had agents in every country and ships upon every sea; he had contracts, mines, mills, ploughs; he was a naval commissioner and master of the

* Bacon's advice touching Mr. Sutton's estate.

† "On the contrary," Bishop Hall says, writing to Sutton, "your full hand and worthy purposes have possessed the world with much expectation. Blessed be God which hath given you an heart to forethink this, and in this dry and dead age a will to honour him with his own." Still he thinks it necessary to exhort him earnestly to carry out his charitable intentions. "For God's sake, for the Gospel's sake, for the Church's sake, for your soul's sake, be stirred up by these poor lines to a resolute and speedy performing of your worthy intentions."—Hall to Sutton.

‡ *Quarrels of Authors*, iii., 134.

ordnance in the north; in a word, one of the most active characters of an active period. He was a meek and pious man; abstemious, but kind and charitable; he had retired from the world to lead a life of strictness and reserve. There is not the slightest resemblance of Sutton in the features of Volpone."* The greatness of the bequest, the splendour of the building designed for a hospital, seem to have raised doubts in the mind of the King as to the propriety of carrying out the intentions of the will. Bacon, then Solicitor-General, was charged to give him advice on the matter. He argues, most unscrupulously, in favour of setting aside all Sutton's intentions. The hospital for decayed gentlemen he considers likely to become a "place of receptacle for the worst, idlest, and most dissolute persons of every profession." "For grammar-schools there are already too many, and therefore no providence to add where there is excess." He would have diverted the great merchant's property to pay readers at the Universities, endow the Controversial College then struggling for existence, and salary preaching ministers in the more neglected parts of the country.† The King, however, happily resisted these temptations. "His Majesty," says Archbishop Abbot, "did himself much honour in the case of Sutton's hospital; notwithstanding all importunity, he suffered the judges to do their conscience."‡ The great Carthusian

* Gifford's Preface to *Ben Jonson*.

† Bacon's advice touching Mr. Sutton's estate, Works, i., 494.

‡ Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

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School has well justified Sutton's foresight, and redeemed his benevolence.*

Reappearance of the Puritans.

The Puritans were now again everywhere showing themselves. In the Diocese of Peterborough the silenced ministers had ventured openly to resume their functions, and so notorious did their boldness become, that the King was obliged to call upon the Archbishop to act. Abbot accordingly addressed a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, to call upon him to restrain these irregularities. Heylin says,† "The Puritans did not now so much attack Episcopacy as affect the Calvinian and Sabbatarian rigours," wherein they felt sure of the connivance of the new Archbishop. They become objects of satire in the comedies of the day. Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* was written shortly after the period at which we are now arrived. In that disgraceful piece of low buffoonery, the Puritan minister, Rabbi Zeal-of-the-land Busy, Mrs. Win-the-fight and her mother, with all the strange cant

* Dr. Chamberlayne in his *Present State of England*, 1670, thus notices the Charter-house foundation: "This college, now called Sutton's Hospital, consists of a master or governor, a chaplain, and several other officers, also a master and usher to instruct forty-four scholars; also fourscore decayed gentlemen, who have all a plentiful maintenance of diet, lodging, clothes, and physic, and live all together in a collegiate manner with much cleanness and neatness, &c. This vast revenue and princely foundation was the sole gift of Thomas Sutton, Esq., a Lincolnshire gentleman, and a Protestant, and is supposed to be so great, as cannot be paralleled by the charity of any one subject in Europe, notwithstanding the great boasts of the Roman Catholics. The house cost him at first £13,000, and the fitting up about £7,000, and was endowed by him with £4,000, per annum, which is since improved to near £6,000."—*Angliæ Notitia*, part ii., p. 291.

† *History of Presbyterians*, 389.

and quaint manners of the Puritan, come in for low comedy satire. They were already distinguished by their clothes and peculiar talk. We read of "the small pointed ruff"* which at once marked them out, their protests against "the language of Canaan,"† their way of calling the Festival of the Nativity "Christ-tide"† instead of Christmas, of declaiming not only against music, but also against bells, as "profane;"† their long graces, their snuffling way of talking, "sucking up their *hum* and *ha*;"† of the

> "Precise, pure, illuminate brother,
> Who will drop you forth a libel, or a sanctified lie,
> Between every spoonful of a nativity pie."‡

The reappearance of the Puritans at this time was due principally to what they knew of the character of the Primate, but also partly, doubtless, to their confidence in the favour of the heir apparent, Henry Prince of Wales. He was "the darling of the Puritans," says Neal, "for he had often declared that his first care on coming to the throne should be to reconcile the Puritans to the Church of England."§ This was interpreted in the sense that concessions were to be made by the Church party rather than by the Nonconformists, and consequently the Prince was regarded with an intense affection by all those who were not hearty in their

* Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*.
† Jonson's *Alchemist*.
‡ Jonson's *Fox*.
§ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 91.

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liking of the Church.* Another cause also tended to elate and encourage the Puritans at this time. A Prince, brought up as the disciple of the reformed religion of Germany, was to marry the King's daughter Elizabeth. "The match was universally approved by all the Puritans in England, as the grand security of the Protestant succession to the Crown, for the family of the Elector Palatine were always their delight."† The expectations, however, founded on Prince Henry, were destined soon to be destroyed. On November 6, that young Prince died, suddenly and mysteriously, having only been apparently ill for five or six days. His death was caused in all probability by a malignant fever, but many attributed it to poison, which some declared had been administered by the Earl of Somerset, whom he hated, and others even by the King himself, who was not on very good terms with his son.‡ This last supposition is indeed altogether a monstrous one. The King behaved strangely in insisting upon the festivities of Christmas not being curtailed, though within a month of the funeral of his eldest son; but though this may testify to his selfish and unfeeling disposition, it can afford no reasonable ground of suspicion that he was in any way accessory to the fearful crime with which some

Death of Prince Henry.

* Hence the popular rhyme:

"Henry the Eighth pulled down abbeys and cells
But Henry the Ninth shall pull down bishops and bells."

Sir J. Harinton's *Brief View.* (Title page.)

† Neal, u. s.

‡ Lingard, vi., 96; Wilson, p. 63; Goodman's *Court of King James*, vol. i., 247, sq.; Aiken's *King James;* Nicholls's *Progresses of King James*, ii., 471.

scrupled not to charge him. Prince Henry was buried at Westminster on December 7, "the pomp of the funeral being fully completed with the people's tears and lamentations."* "The lamentation was so general," says Sir S. D'Ewes, "as men, women, and children partook of it. The Prince was a true lover of the English nation, and a sound Protestant, abhorring not only the idolatry, &c., of the Romish synagogue, but being freed also from the Lutheran leaven which had then so far spread itself in Germany. He esteemed not buffoons and parasites, nor vain swearers and atheists, but had learned and godly men for the dear companions of his life."† Prince Henry had not been the favourite son either with father or mother.‡ He was probably of a confident and forward disposition, having views of his own about matters in Church and State, and not so dutifully conforming in all things as his brother Charles. He used to joke his brother about his precocious ecclesiastical tastes, and tell him, not over kindly, that when he was King, Charles should be Archbishop of Canterbury, and then he would have a gown to hide his crooked legs. But this very fact of his not being much loved by his parents, would be likely to attach to him those who did not regard the King with especial favour, or admire his absolute views in Church and State. It may be that such as these attributed to the Prince opinions which he never seriously held,

* Wilson.

† *Autobiography of Sir S. D'Ewes*, p. 16.

‡ Goodman's Court of *King James*, i., 251.

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and fastened expectations on him, which if he had lived he would have entirely falsified. But his death caused a general regret among the Puritan and Low Church party, and prevented them from rejoicing as they otherwise would have done, at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, which was solemnized in the following February. This match had been greatly promoted by the advice of Archbishop Abbot, who persuaded the King that if he should match his daughter with a Popish prince, there would be nothing but practising, plotting, conspiring, which might tend much to the prejudice of his son and successor; that therefore he should match her with a Protestant prince, "as if they were free and innocent, and knew not what did belong to the undermining of states, and that though they lived upon sacrilege, yet they would do no injustice."*

Marriage of Princess Elizabeth.

The Archbishop's influence prevailed in this matter, but that influence was now speedily to receive a severe and decisive blow. The gaieties and pomps of the splendid nuptials celebrated on Valentine's Day had scarce ceased to be the talk of the court, when all the gossips and newsmongers became completely absorbed in discussing the scandalous divorce case of Frances, Countess of Essex. This case, pleaded before bishops, and on the grounds of ecclesiastical law, and involving so much the character of the leading churchmen of the day, must necessarily fall within the cognisance of the Church historian. It is, however, in every way an

* Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 227.

Divorce case of Lady Essex.

unwelcome subject. It places the character of the King in a most repulsive aspect. To the name of the learned Bilson it affixes an unseemly stigma. Neile, Bishop of Litchfield, appears in it obsequious and base, and even the great Andrewes is not without suspicion of an unworthy time-serving. On the other hand, we are able to admire the Christian firmness and resolution of Archbishop Abbot, and of King, Bishop of London—a firmness deserving the higher honour, as it was so difficult and so rare; for, says Bishop Hall, "Whether as English, or as men, it hath been ever familiar to us to fawn upon princes; but flattery is no other than gilded treason, nothing else but poison in gold."* For the narration of this case we have the long and elaborate account drawn up by Archbishop Abbot as our guide.† It may be that in this account some of the statements are a little coloured, but it bears marks of being, upon the whole, truthful and honest, and the Archbishop has affixed to it his solemn protestation that it only contains the exact and unvarnished truth.

Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, was married to the Earl of Essex in January, 1606, she being at that time only thirteen, while the bridegroom was only fourteen years old. Immediately after the marriage they separated, the Earl of Essex going on his travels, and not returning to claim his bride till he was eighteen years old. The lady in the mean time had fallen in love with

* Bishop Hall's Letter to Mr. Newton.

† Printed in vol. ii. of Cobbett's *State Trials*.

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Lord Rochester,* the King's all-powerful favourite, and was very unwilling to receive her husband. She was, however, at length carried away by him, sorely against her will, to his house at Chartley, and here, and at other places, they lived together for some three years as man and wife. During this time her aversion to her husband increased, and her love for Rochester grew stronger and stronger. She called to her aid Mrs. Turner, a woman of infamous character, and Dr. Forman, a conjuror, and with their help concocted all sorts of plots to bring about the dissolution of her marriage with Lord Essex. At length the King was induced, by the influence of Lord Rochester, to issue a commission to four bishops and five civilians to try the lady's suit for a divorce from her husband. The ground taken was new, and hitherto unheard of,† but one which had been devised by the King, as the only way he could discover for satisfying the favourite, and also the powerful Lord Chamberlain, the father of the lady. The bishops put into the commission originally, were Archbishop Abbot, Bishop King, of London, Neile, of Litchfield and Coventry, and Andrewes, of Ely. The civilians, Sir J. Cæsar, Sir T. Parry, Sir D. Dun, Sir J. Bennet, Sir T. Edwards. Very soon it appeared to the archbishop, and some other of the judges, that the whole affair was an attempt under the

* Wilson's *History*, p. 56.

† "When we saw the libel, and that it contained *impotentia versus hanc*, most of us who were not acquainted with the project before were much amazed at it."—Archbishop Abbot.

guise and form of justice, and by means of perjured witnesses, to bring about a great and scandalous wickedness. Abbot, therefore, firmly opposed it, and was supported in his opposition by the Bishop of London. The King grew very angry. He sent for the archbishop to Windsor, rated him soundly, and showed so much displeasure, that the poor primate, frightened, though not convinced, fell down on his knees with tears in his eyes, and said, "I beseech your majesty, if ever I have done you any service, whom I do serve with a faithful heart, rid me of this business." It would not, however, suit the purpose of the promoters of the suit to have the archbishop resign, nor was it thought desirable to come to a sentence without the judges being unanimous, if they could possibly be brought to it. "As I came homeward in my coach," says Abbot, "from Windsor, and all that same night, two things did run much in my mind; the one was, what a strange and fearful thing it was that his majesty should be so much engaged in that business; that he should profess that himself had set the matter in that course of judgment, that the judges should be dealt withal beforehand, and in a sort directed what they should determine." They had, in fact, been ordered to meet next day, and agree to the divorce, but not even the King's anger could lead Archbishop Abbot thus to decide against his conscience. The canonists argued, but the archbishop yielded not. Meantime, "My Lord of Ely (Andrewes) sat little less than dumb, as if he had never dreamed of any such matter. Divers of the

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commissioners wondered at him, that he who had spent so much time in reading the canonists should be so silent." With Andrewes silent, and Abbot and King decidedly adverse, the only episcopal judge strongly favourable was Neile, Bishop of Litchfield. This prelate was neither famous for his canonistic learning, nor did his character give him much weight. The cause seemed, therefore, in some danger of being lost.

To avoid this, the King ventured on a step which was about as glaring a defiance of justice as could well be imagined. He quashed the original commission, and issued a *new* one containing the names of the former judges, but adding two additional ones—bishops who were already known to be in favour of the divorce. These prelates were Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, and Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester. "Now grew I to consider," says Abbot, "why these two commissioners were joined to us. We resolved, for my lord of Winton, that it was supposed that there was no great amity between him and me; that when I was dean there, there was some disagreement between us, which they supposed yet continued. That he had an old grudge against me for having the archbishopric, which his lordship so much desired. Besides, it was some tickling unto him, that his gravity and learning should either win in the archbishop, or lay some blemish upon him if he stood out." "Concerning the Bishop of Rochester, it was well known that he had opened himself before the King's going in progress, that he liked well of the nullity."

After this we are not surprised to hear that "most of the lords had a great dislike of this proceeding; that the better sort of men had generally a *detestation* of it, that the judges and lawyers much condemned it; and that men said we had a foul and strange matter in hand at Lambeth." Yet in this foul and strange matter the King was not ashamed, not only to tamper with the judges, but openly to play the advocate. He now sent the archbishop some papers contradicting and replying to the reasons that Abbot had given why he could not agree to the divorce. But says the good archbishop, "I could not force my conscience, which cried upon me that it was an odious thing before God and man to give such a sentence without better warrant." So, too, said Bishop King: he encouraged the archbishop to persevere, telling him "that the eyes of the whole Church of England were upon him, and expected of him that he should show himself a worthy man." Andrewes had by this time become thoroughly sick of the business; he had retired, intending to go down to his diocese on visitation, as soon as the abating of the floods would allow him, but "the King sent an express messenger for him, requiring him, by letter, to be there on the Tuesday night." Meantime, Bilson, the new auxiliary, began at once to display his powers. "He snapped up my lord's counsel, that they could not speak a word, but he catched at it before it was out." Neile was busy coming and going between the King and the Commissioners, and managing the underground part of the business,

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at which he was an adept. The Bishop of Rochester, a "great dependant" of Neile's, sat mute, ready for the sentence.

At length, the King hurrying the matter forward with all possible speed, on September 25th the sentence was given. Four bishops: Bilson, Andrewes, Neile, Buckeridge; three civilians: J. Cæsar, Parry, Dun, pronounced for the divorce, it having been previously arranged that the Commissioners should simply vote Yes or No without giving their reasons. "The archbishop, the day after the sentence, went to the Court to Whitehall, and waited on the King to chapel, standing also by him in the closet, where he was strangely looked on by the King." Meanwhile, the favourable judges were rewarded. Bilson's son was knighted, and immediately nicknamed Sir Nullity Bilson; Neile was promised the See of Lincoln, to which he was soon afterwards promoted. As for Andrewes, we may conceive that he retired to his fens in Ely not very well pleased either with himself or his royal friend and patron. But public opinion declared itself very strongly against those who had pronounced the sentence of divorce. "The Bishop of Winton went down with much jollity, full of hope and glory, but within a while he grew much daunted, for he heard many ways of the strange detestation which the world had of that deed." Even his own son-in-law, Sir Richard Norton, refused any longer to live in his house, so great was the odium against him; and when, soon after, the horrible murder of Sir Thomas

Characters of Bishops Bilson and Neile affected.

Overbury showed, in all its blackness, the real character of the woman whose cause they had been befriending, we may well believe that the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, though deprived of royal favour, did not envy the feelings of the prelates who had contended for the divorce.

This is probably a just account of this remarkable case, and the conduct of the bishops concerned in it; * but it is, of course, the account of one principally interested. It is only fair to the prelates on the other side, of whom one, at least, was a man worthy of all admiration and respect, to quote the following from Bishop Goodman: "After the nullity had past, I went to Dr. Overall, who truly was reputed, and so no doubt was, as great a scholar as any was in the kingdom; and I asked his opinion concerning that nullity, and he told me that he himself had been with the Bishop of London, Bishop King, to expostulate with him why he should oppose the nullity, together with the Archbishop Abbot, seeing things were so manifest according to the laws of the Church; to whom Bishop King replied, that his only reason of dissent was this, that whereas many things were proved upon oath, yet he could not satisfy his own conscience for the truth of those oaths, though he

* "Coke had not been accessory to the *infamous sentence* by which, to please the caprice of the King, the young Countess of Essex, after carrying on an illicit intercourse with a paramour, obtained a divorce from her husband on the pretext that she still remained a virgin."—Lord Campbell's *Life of Sir E. Coke*, 279.

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could not disprove them; but if his own conscience could have been persuaded that the oaths were true, then, without exception, the nullity must needs follow." *

Foundation of Wadham College.

The reproach cast by Romanists upon the Protestant religion, that it encouraged a niggard spirit, and produced no great examples of generous liberality, had been met and overthrown by the munificent donation of Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charter-house.† It was now still further shown to be groundless, by a new and splendid institution

* *Court of King James*, i., 222. If this was really Bishop King's opinion, it certainly was not the Archbishop's. Abbot objected to the plea altogether, which was not impotentia, but impotentia *versus hanc*.

† It may be interesting to the reader to take a glance at the state of some of our charitable institutions about this time. The following is a report for 1616, affixed to Dr. Daniel Price's *Sermon at the Spittal:*

(1.) Children kept at charges in Christ's Hospital, in the house, divers places in the city, and with nurses in the country	736
(2.) Cured this year in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of soldiers and other diseased people . . .	512
(3.) In the same hospital at this present . .	235
(4.) Cured in St. Thomas's Hospital . . .	826
(5). In the hospital at present . . .	236
(6.) Brought to Bridewell in the last year, of wandering soldiers and other vagrants, and passed to their native countries: kept in diet, provided with hose, shoes, shirts, bands, money, &c.	1810
(7.) In the hospital at present, maintained and kept in arts and occupations, of men, women, and children .	100

"Let other places," says Dr. Price, "be honoured for other blessings in them; Venice for riches, Bologna for fruits, Naples for nobility, Florence for policy; but of all Christian cities this of yours, for this nursery of your infants and orphans, hath excelled."—*Mary's Memorial*, p. 47.

finished this year in Oxford. Nicholas Wadham, of Merifield, in Somersetshire, and Dorothy, his wife, erected and endowed a college in the University, for a warden, fifteen scholars, two chaplains, and two clerks. This new foundation at once took its stand by the side of those of older renown, and has ever since worthily maintained it. For a century it continued the junior college in the University, when it was relieved, by the liberality of Sir Thomas Cookes, from this distinction. It was built, says Fuller, on the site of a monastery of the old Augustine friars, who were famous for their disputations, and "the college hath from the beginning still retained something of its old genius, having been continually eminent for some that were acute philosophers and good disputants."*

Rochester, created Earl of Somerset, and married to the late Countess of Essex, and thus reconciled to the Howards, was now all-powerful at court. Everything was sold that could attract a buyer—patents, monopolies, offices, dignities, were in the market. Knighthood had become such a drug, that it could be had for sixty pounds. Even Church dignities were to be procured thus. "It was expected," says the account of Archbishop Abbot, above quoted, "that Dr. Cary would be promoted to the deanery of St. Paul's, for which it was generally supposed he would pay well." But with all this trafficking, sufficient money was not to be had, and it was at length determined by the King and his advisers to call a parliament, a step

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., iv., 30.

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A new Parliament.

which was by no means pleasing to the King, who had not found the last as deferential as he liked. In fact, he would not consent to summon a parliament until his advisers had "undertaken" to secure for him a majority in the new assembly. In former reigns, it had been found sufficient for this purpose if the chancellor made known the wishes of the prince to the sheriff;* in the present, however, all the influence of the crown was exerted, and utterly failed. James was intensely unpopular. He opened the parliament with a conciliatory speech, but it produced no effect. The House of Commons resounded with complaints of interference with the liberty of election, and the claims of the King to grant monopolies and levy impositions. The spirit of indignation against the King was extended to some of his favourite divines. Dr. Harsenet, Bishop of Chichester, preaching before the Court on the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," tried to prove that the words meant that subjects were to give *back* that which was already Cæsar's by right, and caused great indignation in Parliament by his loyal theology.† Dr. Neile, also, now Bishop of Lincoln, brought down a furious storm of wrath upon his head, by arguing in the House of Lords against a conference with the Commons upon the subject of "impositions," and asserting that such a conference "did strike, not at a branch, but at the root of the prerogative of the imperial crown." Upon hearing

The Court divines offend the Commons.

* Lingard, vi., 106.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.*, x., iv., 31.

of this speech, the Commons sent up a message to the Upper House to desire satisfaction, and the lords returned answer in due course, that the Lord Bishop of Lincoln had protested on his salvation, "that he did not speak anything with any evil intention to the House of Commons, which he doth with all hearty duty and respect highly esteem, and had expressed, *with many tears*, his sorrow that his words had been so misconceived."* Still the Commons were not satisfied in either case, and it is asserted by Fuller, that it was mainly to stop proceedings against these two bishops by the Lower House, that the Parliament was hastily dissolved (June 7). The next morning, the most violent and refractory of the members were called before the council, and committed to the Tower.

The bishops, grateful for the favour shown them, and indignant at the insubordination of the Commons, endeavoured to make up for their negligence and backwardness in providing for the King's necessities. Archbishop Abbot, writing to the Bishop of Norwich, says that the bishops had all resolved to grant to the King the best piece of plate which they possessed, and some of them who had not any valuable piece of plate, to make up the deficiency by filling a smaller one with gold pieces, "so that it make a present of a reasonable value." He desires, also, that the richer clergy should be stirred up to follow the example, and that as the convocation had not lasted long enough to grant subsidies,

* Proceedings against Dr. Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, &c. —Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

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they should show their zeal by giving a benevolence.* Doubtless the greater part of the clergy were ready to follow the example of the bishops, and to contribute liberally, but there were some to whom application was made, who were either unable or unwilling to do so. One of these was Mr. Edmund Peacham, Rector of Hinton St. George, in Somersetshire. This Mr. Peacham had been in trouble as early as 1603, for some alleged seditious words used by him in a sermon, and this year he was again in difficulties. Upon being asked what he would give to the benevolence, he answered, "Silver and gold have I none, but I will give my prayers to the King." For this he was thrown into the Tower, and his effects being searched, a sermon was found in his study, which was considered to be of a seditious and treasonable character.† His case is thus given in the *State Trials*. "Edmund Peacham was indicted of treason, for divers treasonable passages in a sermon which was never preached, nor intended to be preached, but only set down in writings and found in his study; he was tried, and found guilty, but not executed."‡ In the conduct of this case, Sir Francis Bacon, as attorney-general, showed an unjust and tyrannical spirit, and a desire to gratify the King at any cost.§

Case of Rev. Edmund Peacham.

* Abbot's Letter, *Tanner MSS.*, 74, 40.

† Letters of Lord Carew to Sir T. Roe (Camden Society), p. 15.

‡ Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

§ Mr. Hepworth Dixon's attempt to whitewash Bacon in this matter appears to me to be a failure. Even if Mr. Peacham were of as bad a character as he endeavours to prove him, it does not affect the justice of the matter, nor excuse the use of torture.

Sir E. Coke, on the other hand, on this as on many other occasions, firmly defended the right. Peacham was examined "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." The King drew up with his own hand a paper against him, called "The true state of the question," in which he argued earnestly that he was guilty of treason, even if (as Peacham declared) he had intended to strike out the objectionable passages of the sermon before preaching it. The judges, however, still doubted as to a crime having been actually committed by a man writing down his private lucubrations in his own house; but the poor minister was tried at Taunton, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, from which fearful fate he was only saved by dying in prison.*

Comedy of *Ignoramus* at Cambridge.

We soon, however, find his Majesty in a better humour, making a progress, and visiting Cambridge, where the famous Latin comedy of *Ignoramus*, written by Mr. Ruggle, of Clare Hall, was acted before him. This comedy exactly hit off the King's vein. It was learned wit which pleased his pedantic humour, and the fun was all at the expense of the lawyers, whom the King did not regard with any particular affection. Coke and the judges, with their prohibitions and scruples, were always thwarting him, his bishops, and canonists. It was pleasant

* Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii. See Lord Campbell, in *Life of Sir E. Coke*. The preliminary proceedings against Mr. Peacham (whom Lord Campbell calls "an aged and pious minister") were taken this year—the trial came on next year. "A lingering death was inflicted upon him in prison by disease," says Lord Campbell.

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to hear them well shown up and laughed at, and the barbarous Latin of the Courts was apt and congenial matter for raising a laugh in a University audience. As the comedy proceeded and the fun increased, the King shouted out, Treason, Treason! Being asked what was the matter, he said he believed the author and the actors together had a design to make him laugh himself to death.* The witticisms upon the lawyers in this comedy, and their popularity, are said to have angered the learned Mr. Selden, who, to revenge himself upon the divines, wrote his famous *History of Tithes*. In this treatise (published in 1618) he examines the right on which payment of tithes is grounded.† Beginning with the patriarchal times, he asserts that Abraham's tithes to Melchisedek were a mere extraordinary payment—a gift out of the spoils of war. That Abraham and Jacob, being themselves,

Selden's treatise *On Tithes*.

* "On another occasion of this comedy being acted before the King, when he was seated and expected the scholars to perform, he was surprised with the sound of a horn and the appearance of a postboy, who said that Ignoramus was ready to perform his part, but that none of the lawyers would lend him a gown to act in. 'Ah!' said the King, who was deceived, and thought the scholar a real postboy, 'this is a plot of Cuke's!' (meaning the Lord Chief Justice Coke); 'but if Cuke won't let the lawyers lend him a gown, by my saul, man, he shall lend him his own!' This speech put the audience into an exceeding merry humour, and the play went on."—Note to Ferrar's Life in Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*.

† Some of the treatises on tithes, published not long before this, were as follows:—*Tithes examined and proved to be due to the Clergy by Divine right*, by George Carleton, B.D., 1606; *The Maintenance of the Ministry*, &c., by Richard Erburne, Minister of the Word, 1609; *The Revenue of the Gospel is Tithes, due to the Ministry of the Word, by that Word*, 1913, by Foulke Robartes, B.D.

both of them, priests (as in right of primogeniture), their paying tithes was no argument of the *divine right* of the clergy to exact tithes of the laity. That under the law there was no payment of a tenth appointed, but certain prescribed offerings, partly for the Priest and Levite, partly for the poor. That among the heathens the offerings made to their gods were *ex voto*, and voluntary. That for the first four hundred years after Christ, there is no canon-law enforcing the payment of tithes to the clergy. That after this, canons and rules began to be made, directing that this tax, which had been very commonly considered as a payment due to the lord, should be assigned over and appropriated to the Church. "Sufficient remedy was not provided against the *arbitrary disposition* of tithes, till the Council of Lyons (1274), which decreed that from henceforth no one should be allowed, *as before*, to assign his tithes arbitrarily, but that they should pay all tithes to Mother Church."* That the right of parochial tithes was one of still later date, it having been held free for lords or patrons to grant tithes of lands to other ecclesiastical purposes, than the use of the parson of the particular parish. That, in fact, the whole matter of payment of tithes was not grounded on any Divine right or uniform unbroken custom, but had gradually grown up by canons, usage, and statute-laws.

Death and character of Bishop Rudde, of St. David's.

This year died Rudde, Bishop of St. David's, who had honourably distinguished himself in the Convocation of 1604, by pleading for moderate

* Selden *On Tithes*, p. 147.

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views; and though not himself in any way sharing the scruples of the Nonconformists, stating their cause boldly and plainly. His straightforwardness on this occasion angered Bancroft, who commanded him, as President, to be silent; just as his simple plainness, at another time, had cost him the favour of Queen Elizabeth. He had preached before the Queen, and so much pleased her, that she told Archbishop Whitgift to inform him that after his death she would make him Archbishop. Perhaps Whitgift was not very well pleased at having his place disposed of before it was vacant; however, he told the Bishop of St. David's that the Queen liked his sermon mightily. Upon this Rudde replied that he was rather surprised, as the sermon was not one on which he had bestowed so much pains as many others which he had preached at Court. "Oh!" said the primate, "the Queen is grown weary of the vanities of wit and eloquence wherewith her youth was formerly affected, and plain sermons which come home to her heart please her the best." Rudde remembered these words, when he was next called on to preach, and taking for his text, Psalm xc., 12, "O teach us to number our days," &c., he discoursed on the infirmities of age, and personally applied his observations to the Queen, reminding her how age had furrowed her face and grizzled her hair. Certainly, if Whitgift did lay a trap for the preacher, by recommending plain speaking, the poor man proved an easy, unsuspecting victim. Elizabeth, who had an especial horror of being reminded of old age and death, was

furious. She did not live to name another archbishop, but we may well believe that if she had, the Bishop of St. David's would not have stood much chance of the promotion.* Chap. V. 1614.

Upon the death of Henry IV., of France, the great scholar and critic, Isaac Casaubon, had left his native country and come over to England, where he had been honourably received and presented by the King to prebends in Canterbury and Westminster.† He continued his learned labours here, and several of his works were composed in England. His sojourn, however, among us was but a short one. Death "stopped him in full speed," said Fuller. The honour and respect of the country which he had adopted followed him to his tomb, and he lies buried in Westminster Abbey, by the side of Camden, the historian, "both whose plain tombs, made of white marble, show the simplicity of their intentions, the candidness of their natures, and the perpetuity of their memories."‡ Death of Isaac Casaubon.

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., iv., 32—35. Sir J. Harinton's *Brief View of the Church of England*, p. 162.

† Casaubon was a layman, but that did not seem a necessary bar to a cathedral appointment. Thus Archbishop Toby Matthews gave a stall in York to Sir Edward Montague. See his letter to Dr. Ward, *Tanner MSS.*, 74, 107.

‡ Fuller's *Church History*, x., iv., 38.

CHAPTER VI.

Chap. VI. 1615.

The Church in Ireland—Devastation of Church property—Uniformity enforced—Spiritual destitution of the country—Bishop of Clogher—Bishop Draper—Plantation of Ulster—Puritanical clergy—No progress in converting Romanists—The Irish Articles of 1615—Folly of the compromise—Doubtful whether the King intended to remove Abbot—Mischief of translations—Montagu moved to Winchester—Inconsistency in promotion of prelates—Their eager seeking for preferment—The legality of Commendams questioned—King's directions for study of divinity at Oxford—Compendiums and bodies of divinity—Their discountenancing a blow to Calvinism—State of the Universities as schools—Witchcraft—Case of Mary Smith—King's Sermon in the Star Chamber to the judges—Sir Edward Coke—Preaching before the King—Mr. Edward Sympson's censure—Dr. Mocket's censure—Mr. Selden's censure—Mr. Montagu's answer to Selden—Dr. Tillesley—Mr. Nettles—Mr. Selden reads his recantation—King publishes *Book of Sports* for the Lord's Day—Excitement of the Puritan clergy—Sabbatarian controversy.

The Church in Ireland.

THIS year is an epoch in the history of the Reformed Church of Ireland, as it witnessed the passing and ratifying of its articles. It is a fitting place, therefore, to take a short view of the history of religion in that country during the earlier years of this reign. The Reformation had done little for Ireland, save alienate its Church revenues to the Crown,

and introduce elements of discord and internecine strife. Henry and Elizabeth, little scrupulous as to what they did in England, were still less so in Ireland. A general devastation was made of the lands of the Church; the patrimony of the bishops and cathedral churches was exposed to public sale, the impropriated tithes, which had been annexed to religious houses, were seized by the Crown, the churches lay unroofed and unrepaired, and forty shillings a year was an average stipend for a benefice.* In the meantime not much had been done in providing for the spiritual wants of the people. Some order had indeed been taken for introducing the English Liturgy and English Bible in many of the churches of the kingdom, "which being not understood by the natural Irish, left them as much in ignorance and superstition as in the darkest times of Papal tyranny."† Three, four, or five vicarages were often engrossed in one man's hands, who perhaps did not understand the language nor attempt to perform the service. The sees, having been robbed of their best revenues, were thrown together to make them worth holding, and to induce bishops, appointed in England or Scotland, to go and reside on their preferment.

Devastation of Church property.

King James had complained, at the Hampton Court Conference, that he only had the bodies of the Irish, while the Pope had their souls; and though one of the things decided on then was to

* Heylin's *History of Presbyterians*, 392-3; Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., 358.

† Heylin, u. s.

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plant schools in Ireland, this state of things did not seem likely to be changed. His accession had been welcomed in Ireland in proportion as Elizabeth had been hated; and the Irish pleased themselves in tracing his descent from the old kings of the land.

Uniformity enforced.

They had hoped that the son of a Catholic martyr (as they styled Mary) would be well affected to the faith which they loved, but they were speedily undeceived by the publication of the Act of Uniformity and its enforcement in Dublin. Sixteen of the most eminent persons in the city were summoned to the Court of Castle Chamber, and fined for recusancy. On July 4, 1605, came forth a proclamation, ordering all the priests and clergy of Rome, if they would not conform, to leave the kingdom before the 16th of the following December.* The Pope issued a pastoral, forbidding Romanists to attend the service of the Common Prayer; and soon afterwards King James sent over his test Oath of Allegiance, to be administered to all. Thus all things were in a miserable confusion, the Roman and Anglican laws and rituals clashing at every point, and the people, helpless and ignorant,

Spiritual destitution of the country.

exposed to the tyranny of both. The English Churches of the Pale, as the district most easily accessible from England by the sea was called, had become embued with Calvinistic and Puritanical notions, and lent no effective support to the Church policy of the Crown; † and in the parts where the

* King's *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 855; Mant's *History*, i., 350.

† Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 392.

old faith was unbroken there was an almost absolute cessation of all religious worship. Sir John Davies, in a letter still extant, gives an account of the visitation of three counties by the Lord Deputy, at which he personally assisted. In the County of Monaghan, the churches were, for the most part, utterly waste, and their incumbents Popish priests. No attempt, it seems, had been made in this county, forming part of the Diocese of Clogher, to introduce the English ritual. The see had been vacant from 1570 to 1605. At that time it had been thrown together with Derry and Raphoe, and to these united sees King James had appointed George Montgomery, a native of Scotland. This prelate, however, had not as yet thought fit to visit his diocese; he preferred to remain in Scotland, and enjoy the dignity of his title, without the labour of planting the English Church in these wild districts. The Lord Deputy and his suite next visited Cavan, where also they found the churches in ruins, and the incumbents "such poor, ragged, and ignorant creatures, as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of these livings, albeit many of them are not worth more than forty shillings a year." Here, too, was another delinquent bishop, one Robert Draper, who lived in those parts and held two bishoprics, though "there was no divine service or sermon to be heard within either of his dioceses." Yet this prelate was not altogether idle; he busied himself in visiting his poor clergy and exacting fines from them for nonconformity, "according to the proverb which is common in the

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Bishop of Clogher.

Bishop Draper.

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mouth of one of our great bishops here, "That an Irish priest is better than a milch cow." *

Plantation of Ulster.

The first substantial improvement which took place in Ireland was what is called "The Plantation of Ulster." The lands of the chieftains, O'Donnell, O'Neill, and O'Dogherty, had been forfeited to the Crown by their rebellion and flight from the country, and thus a vast tract of land, but thinly peopled and capable of great improvement, became available for the purposes of colonization. It was estimated that two millions of acres, almost the whole of the six northern counties of Cavan, Fermagh, Armagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Tyrconnell, had escheated to the Crown. These lands were divided into four portions, of which two were subdivided into lots of 1,000, a third into lots of 1,500, and a fourth into lots of 2,000 acres. The larger lots were reserved for adventurers of known capital from England and Scotland, the military and civil officers of the Crown; the smaller distributed among these and the natives of the province.† The adventurers, many of whom were from the City of London, built Londonderry and fortified Coleraine, and sent over a considerable number of colonists to occupy the land. They were at a loss, however, for ministers. The English clergy, generally, did not fancy the project, but it furnished a good opening for the Puritans, who were dissatisfied with the state of religion at

Puritanical clergy.

* King's *History of the Church of Ireland*, p. 862-6; Mant's *History*, chap. vi.

† Lingard, vi., 144; Howes's *Chronicle*, p. 914.

home.* The Scotch flocked into a country which was both near to them and richer than their own, and wherever they came brought with them their favourite Presbyterian platform. Episcopacy existed, but only in a very modified form. The Scotch ministers submitted to the imposition of the Bishop's hands, but with a service of their own drawing up, and "all of them enjoyed the churches and tithes, though they remained Presbyterian and used not the Liturgy." † The compromise between the two Churches was supported and encouraged by the influence of James Usher, who was then Professor of Divinity at Trinity College, Dublin, and continued unbroken till the days of Strafford and Laud.

No progress in converting Romanists.

Meantime but little progress was made in the great work of converting the Romanists. From the very interesting report of Thomas Ram, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, we find how completely impracticable the labour was. The bishop had tried gentle means with them, but though some of the poorer sort professed that they groaned under the burden of the many priests, yet they declared that conversion would be equivalent to starvation. The gentlemen, and those of the richer sort, were very obstinate, and when threatened with the penalties enacted against recusants, said, "that they knew they must be imprisoned at the length, and therefore as good now as hereafter." ‡

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 93; Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, chap. vi.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 94.

‡ Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., 371.

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The Irish Articles of 1615.

The Presbyterian element being, as it were, legalized in the Church, the Reformation in Ireland took a Calvinist and Puritanical turn. This found expression in a body of one hundred and four Articles, temperately worded enough, but embodying all the doctrines contended for by the Geneva school; which passed the convocation of the Irish clergy in the year 1615. The Articles were drawn up by Usher, whose peace-loving mind was ever possessed with the idea of a comprehension, and they continued in force as the Articles of the Irish Church,* until the year 1634, when the Thirty-nine English Articles being adopted by convocation, superseded them. The principal distinctive doctrinal points asserted in the Irish Articles are, the doctrine of Predestination, as stated in the Lambeth Articles (which are embodied in the Irish). The morality of the Lord's Day, contended for by the English Puritans, but opposed by the High Church school. The observation of Lent declared not to be a religious fast, but grounded merely on politic considerations. The Pope declared to be antichrist, and the man of sin. The consecration of bishops not mentioned.† If there was a comprehension in these Articles, it consisted in taking in all the points contended for by the Puritans, and leaving out all those on which a value was set by the Churchmen.‡ Well may Heylin complain that

* The Irish articles were never ratified by Parliament, and thus were never *legally* binding. See Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 61, note.

† Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., 382—9.

‡ "Certainly they were framed with a strong desire to con-

Protestant Churchmen were crucified between two thieves, the Papist and the Presbyterian. The attempt at a one-sided compromise was a foolish and pitiful device. Compromises are incompatible with zeal. To hold opinions earnestly with the fullest charity towards those who differ, is wise and Christian. To dilute and combine creeds is a weak and worldly policy. But when the concoction is evidently unfairly made—from fear of turbulent opposition rather than from an exact balancing of truth—it is still less likely to succeed. Then one party, triumphant at success, continues to press on that it may gain all. The other, dispirited and discontented, ceases to care for that which it charges with partiality and injustice.

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Folly of the compromise.

England was this year ringing with the fall of the old favourite, Somerset, and the rise of the new one, George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham; the discovery of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the trial of the poisoners and their abettors, the Earl and Countess of Somerset. Doubtless the rise of Buckingham was favourable to the return of Abbot into the King's favour, and the scandal now attaching to the name of Lady Essex must have lessened the King's dislike to those who had resolutely opposed her divorce. It seems, however, far from improbable, that the King contemplated the step of removing the arch-

Doubtful whether the King intended to remove Abbot.

ciliate the Nonconformists, and an utter disregard of the proceedings in England, which must have been fresh in the minds of the compilers. The effect of them on Ireland was most injurious to the progress of true religion."—Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 47.

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bishop from his place, and substituting a prelate in his room on whom he could more entirely depend, and who would also take a stronger line in defending his prerogative and supremacy, with which Sir Edward Coke and the lawyers were now beginning to take unheard of liberties. In June, this year, died Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, the richest piece of preferment in England, after the archbishoprics, and it may not be unlikely that the King had conceived the project of quietly removing Abbot to that church, and advancing Andrewes to the primacy. At least, we have, in the State Paper Office, an opinion of a learned civilian, Dr. Rives, who had been consulted by Abbot, whether it were canonically legal for the King to *translate* a bishop against his will, and who gives it as his opinion, that though the Pope had exercised this power on the ground of being universal bishop, yet "it may be questioned how any sufficient argument may hence be drawn, to justify his majesty's legal authority in such a case."* The Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, complained "that covetousness and ambition had brought an ill custom upon the Church: and that it was too common a practice for bishops to remove from a less city to a greater; and that *an instance the other way was seldom or never to be met with*, from whence it was plain that they were governed by considerations of interest." Certainly the mischief of translations was never more apparent than in the English Church at this time. Even the greatest

Mischief of translations.

* A learned civilian's opinion.—Collier's *Records*, 105.

prelates were in danger of being infected with a time-serving sycophancy. We have Abbot's testimony as to how Bilson, one of the most learned of our divines, had hungered for the Archiepiscopal See, and we have seen how the feelings of disappointment which its loss occasioned, led to his disgracing the purity of his lawn. Another translation now took place to fill the See of Winchester. Dr. James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had been for some years a great favourite with the King. He was a prelate of the Calvinistic school, but doubtless a good courtier. He had had ample opportunities for cultivating his majesty's good will, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, and he now reaps the fruit of his labours by being promoted to the rich See of Winchester. Montagu was the editor of the collected edition of King James's works, and in his preface displayed an excessive adulation towards his royal patron. He enjoyed, however, his new dignity but a very short time, making way in a few years for a more distinguished successor. As Montagu occupied the See of Winchester between Bilson and Andrewes, perhaps in his case the policy which is said by Francis Osborne to have prevailed as regards promotions to bishoprics may be exemplified. He says that the two contrary factions at Court, which we may call the High and Low Church, succeeded in procuring the appointments almost alternately.* Thus Montagu, of the school of Abbot, obtained Winchester, while,

Montagu moved to Winchester.

Inconsistency in promotion of prelates.

* Osborne, in note to Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 314.

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very soon after, Neile, who had scarcely settled himself in the See of Lincoln, was translated to the splendid preferment of Durham. Again, Geneva tendencies triumphed in the appointment of Montagu; patriotic and scholastic prevailed in the nomination of his successor. When his majesty wondered at the growth of Puritanism, he was answered by the High Church courtiers that it was because he made Puritans bishops;* and when he declaimed against the Romanists, it was suggested by the favourers of Calvin that there were some on the bench who did not hold the Pope to be antichrist.

Their eager seeking for preferment.

Truly, if there was one thing more likely than another to bring the Church into contempt with the nation, it was the way in which patronage was administered. Grave divines danced attendance at the *levée* of a profligate favourite, and thought it necessary to be continually at hand to watch that the reversion which had been promised to them was not snapt up by another.† Not content with the

* Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 315.

† As a melancholy proof of the way in which the divines courted the favourite for patronage, we give the following, almost incredible, letter. It is from Field, Bishop of Llandaff, to Buckingham:—"My gracious good lord—In the great library of men that I have studied these many years, your grace is the best book and most classic author that I have read, in whom I find so much goodness, sweetness, and nobleness of nature, such an heroic spirit for boundless bounty, as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made deans, some bishops, some lords and privy-counsellors; none that ever looked towards your grace did go away empty. I need go no further than myself, a gum of the earth, whom you raised out of the dust for raising but a thought so high as to serve your highness. Since that I have not played the truant, but more diligently studied you than before, and yet dunce that I am I stand at a stay, and am a non-proficient,

income of their sees, the bishops were still angling for a deanery or stall to be held *in commendam*. Bishop Neile held Westminster *in commendam* with Litchfield, and Bishop Goodman considered that he was hardly used in not being allowed to hold the See of Hereford *in commendam* with that of Gloucester. But this power which the King claimed of granting patronage to bishops to be held with their sees, came now to be rudely assailed in the law courts, and the part which Sir Edward Coke as judge, took in the matter, is considered by Lord Campbell to be the principal cause of his disgrace. In the case of Colt *v.* Bishop of Litchfield, it was argued that the King did not possess the power of granting *commendam*, and when it was replied that

The legality of *commendams*.

the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiency of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile, some wile in some of my fellow students who hide my book from me, or some part of it; all the fault is not in my own blockishness that I thrive no better; I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. Your grace was pleased to protest no man had, and to assure me no man could; my heart tells me it hath been always upright, and is still faithful to you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them ever since, most sound unto your grace..... I would rather empty all my veins than you should bleed one drop, when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I would be. My lord, I am grown an old man, and am like old household stuff apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it Ely, or Bath and Wells; and I will spend the remainder of my days in writing an history of your good deeds to me and to others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envy and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilst I live, in praying for your grace, whose I am totally and finally."—Theophilus Landaven.

We are not surprised to hear that this prelate was afterwards convicted of *brokage of bribery* to Lord Chancellor Bacon.

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it was done to enable the bishop to exercise hospitality, it was aptly answered that "no man was obliged to keep hospitality beyond his means." The King was at Newmarket when this important trial was going on, but a prelate who was present, hastened away and informed the Attorney-General (Bacon) that his Majesty's prerogative was in danger. The attorney immediately communicated with the King, and received orders to write to the judges and stay proceedings. He wrote, but Chief Justice Coke caused the matter to proceed, and wrote a letter to the King in the name of all the judges, saying that the question turned merely upon the construction of Acts of Parliament, and that it would be a denial of justice to stop the case. When the King returned the judges were well lectured by his Majesty, and all of them promised to be more careful in future except Coke, who answered, "When the case happens, I shall do that which shall be fit for a judge to do."* Judge Doddridge, more complaisant, declared his opinion that "the King might grant a *commendam* to a bishop before or after consecration, and that either during life or for years."†

King's directions for study of divinity at Oxford.

In the beginning of this year, King James had issued a body of directions to the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges in Oxford, intended to check the Puritanical and careless practices prevailing at the University. This had been brought about by

* Lord Campbell's *Life of Sir E. Coke;* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 389, sq.

† Collier, u. s.

the influence of Laud acting on the King through Bishop Neile, Laud's great friend and patron; and it was a triumph gained over the hitherto paramount authority of the two Abbots in the University.* Among the directions given by the King was one especially aimed at the prevalence of the Calvinistic doctrine. "Young students in divinity are directed to study such books as are most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their times in the fathers, and councils, schoolmen, histories, and controversies, and not to insist too long in compendiums and abbreviations, making them the grounds of their studies in divinity." Compendiums and bodies of divinity had hitherto formed their exclusive study. Short digests, generally arranged in the form of question and answer, had been committed to memory, and the youth thus furnished was considered to be sufficiently instructed in theology. We have on record two cases of eminent divines who refused to submit their studies to these trammels, and boldly venturing on more enlarged excursions into the domains of theology, have been rewarded accordingly with the respect and admiration due to their high talents and great acquirements. Richard Montagu, in his *Appeal to Cæsar*, thus describes his course of study: "The course of my studies was never addressed to modern epitomizers; but from my first entrance into the study of divinity, I balked the ordinary accustomed bypaths of *Bastingius's Catechism*, *Fennar's Divi-*

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Compendiums and "bodies of divinity."

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, 71, 72.

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nity, *Bucanus's Common Places*, *Trelcatius*, *Polanus*, and such like, and betook myself to Scripture, the rule of faith, and applier of that rule, holding it a point of discretion to draw water as near as I could to the well-head, and to spare labour in vain, in running further off to cisterns and lakes." Again of the great and good Dr. Hammond, it is recorded by Walton, that "Having taken his degree, he presently bought *a system of divinity* with a design to apply himself straightway to that study: but upon second thoughts, he returned for a time to human learning, and afterwards when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossest by the contrived and interested schemes of modern and withal obnoxious authors." Of this sort, however, was the ordinary study of the academic student.

A very amusing account of the University learning of a little later day is given by Dr. Eachard. "Whereas two hundred, for the most part, yearly commence, scarce the fifth part of these continue after the taking of their first degree. As for the rest, having exactly learned *Quid est logica?* and *Quot sunt virtutes morales?* down they go by the first carrier upon the top of the pack, into the west or north, according as their estates lie, with *Burgersdicius*, *Eustachius*, and such great helps of divinity, and then for the propagation of the Gospel. By that

time they can say the predicaments and the creed, they have their choice of preaching or starving. You may possibly think, sir, that this so early preaching might be easily avoided by withholding holy orders, the Church having very prudently constituted in her canons, that none under twenty-three years of age (which is the usual age after seven years at the University) should be admitted to that great employment. This indeed might seem to do some service were it carefully observed; and were there not a thing to be got called a dispensation, which will presently make you as old as you choose. But if you will, sir, we'll suppose that orders were strictly denied to all unless qualified according to canon. I cannot foresee any other remedy, but that most of these University youngsters must fall to the parish, and become a town charge until they be of spiritual age. For philosophy is a very idle thing when one is cold, and a small system of divinity (though it be *Wollebius* himself) is not sufficient when one is hungry."* "For the poor divinity son if he gets but enough to buy a broad hat at second hand, and a small *system* or two of faith, that's counted stock sufficient for him to set up withal."† These systems of faith or bodies of divinity were compiled out of the writings of the foreign divines, and spoke their sentiments. Necessarily, therefore, they gave birth to Calvinistic and Puritanical notions. The country clergyman fresh from the University with his well-thumbed manual for his sole guide in divinity, was

* *Causes of Contempt of the Clergy*, p. 15, 16. † *Ibid.*

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not likely to take very large and Catholic views, or to give credit to any opinions that were not found in his digest. Hence we may understand the impression of Heylin, that the discountenancing this way of study, was "the first step towards the suppressing of that reputation which Calvin and his writings had attained unto in that University."* The divinity professors at Oxford, however, set themselves against the injunctions, and though they did not venture openly to disregard them, tried as much as possible to defeat their effect.

Their discountenancing a blow to Calvinism.

State of the Universities as schools.

At this time the Universities were not very efficient schools for youth. The doctors and professors were more busy in writing dry treatises one against another, than in labouring to teach the young men sent to be under their charge. "I speak it boldly," says Joseph Hall, writing about this time, "our land hath no blemish comparable to the mis-education of our gentry. With what measure of learning their own will would vouchsafe to receive, they are sent too early to the common nurseries of knowledge. There (unless they fall under careful tuition) they study in jest, and play in earnest. Thence are they transplanted to the collegiate inns of our common laws, and there too many learn to be lawless, and to forget their former little."† In spite, however, of the prevailing ignorance, we may not accuse this age of any monopoly in the baneful absurdity of a belief in witchcraft, for, more than a hundred years later than this, the belief still found learned adherents.

Witchcraft.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 73. † Hall's *Letter to Mr. J. B.*

Inasmuch, however, as King James had devoted his learned leisure to systematising the subject, and had undertaken to inform the uninitiated of the nature of witch-marks, and the best way for detecting and discovering a witch;* and inasmuch as the last Parliament, doubtless at the King's instance, had enacted the statute against witchcraft, this seems a fitting opportunity for noticing this odious delusion.

Case of Mary Smith.

There came forth from the press this year a curious tract written by Alexander Roberts, B.D., and preacher of God's Word at King's Lynn, in Norfolk. It was a treatise on witchcraft, &c., "with divers special points annexed, such as ought by every Christian to be considered," "with a true narration of the witchcrafts which Mary Smith, wife of Henry Smith, glover, did practise." This poor woman appears to have angered her neighbours by a bad temper and a habit of intemperate language; but the charges brought against her to prove her witchcraft, and gravely related by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, are more than ordinarily trivial and absurd. Yet this unhappy creature was publicly burnt in the sight of all the inhabitants of a Christian town.† The mania for discovering and

* See account of King James's Treatise on *Witchcraft* in introductory chapter. Fuller asserts that King James changed his opinions on witchcraft about this time, but we find no trace of it in the suspension of prosecutions for this supposed crime.

† A witch might be legally burnt in England till the ninth year of George II., A.D. 1736, when the statute of 1615 was repealed. This Act, under which such numerous victims perished, originated in the Upper House, where the committee to which it was referred contained twelve bishops.—See Cobbett's *State Trials*, case of Mary Smith.

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burning witches rapidly spread and increased. There sprang up the horrible trade of witch-finders, wretches who professed to be able to discover a witch by subjecting a suspected person to a test, often fearfully painful and cruel, such as the one, recommended by King James, of sticking pins into the witch-mark, to see if it were sensitive. One of these witch-finders is said to have procured the conviction and execution of sixty suspected witches in one year; and it is asserted by Howell, that in two years there were indicted in Suffolk and Essex between two and three hundred witches, of whom more than half were executed.* In the year 1662, Mr. Glanvil, Rector of Bath, an intelligent man and very eloquent writer, argues earnestly in support of witchcraft †—the laws against which were then, happily, beginning to find some to condemn and ridicule them; and many an old-fashioned divine, in the eighteenth century, lamented with his friends the decay of the ancient faith, and more than hinted that some old crone, whose character was none of the best, might be fittingly brought to the test, by "fleeting her on water," or otherwise.

The King, doubtless, thought that the judges were much better employed in bringing witches to the stake than in questioning his prerogative; and feeling that Sir Edward Coke and the magnates

* Notes to case of Mary Smith.—Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

† *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, by Joseph Glanvil. A work which had a great popularity in its day.

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of the land would be none the worse for a little exhortation on this important topic, he varied the ordinary harangues of the Star Chamber by giving them a regular sermon on the text, "Give the king thy judgments, O Lord, and thy righteousness unto the king's son." (Ps. lxxii., 1.) After dividing and subdividing, and giving the literal and mystical sense of his text, he applied it to the judges and the Courts of Judicature, telling them, "That the King, sitting in the throne of God, all judgments centre in him; and, therefore, for inferior courts to determine difficult questions without consulting him, was to incroach upon his prerogative and to limit his power, which was not lawful for the tongue of a lawyer, nor any subject to dispute. As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumptuous and a high contempt to dispute what kings can do or say; it is to take away that mystical reverence that belongs to them who sit in the Throne of God." He then goes on to speak of Papists and Puritans, and though he declares himself *loath* to hang a priest only for his religion,* and saying mass, yet if they refuse the Oath of Allegiance, I leave them to the law. He concludes, with exhorting the judges to countenance the clergy against Papists and Puritans, adding, "God and the King will reward your zeal."† The bishops must have heard this dis-

King's sermon in the Star Chamber to the judges.

* See the very curious account of the priests in the "Clink," and the comfort and luxury in which they were living; being those who had taken the Oath of Allegiance.—Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 94.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 91.

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course with much pleasure, and promised themselves an immunity from those very annoying prohibitions which the law-courts still continued to issue to those which were governed by the civil and canon laws.*

Sir Edward Coke.

The bold spirit of Sir Edward Coke was not, however, to be thus intimidated. The King might preach, but the rough, upright judge would act according to the law. The King knew and respected in his heart his determined character. Witness that well-known saying of his when Somerset would have induced him to interfere to save him from Coke's warrant, "Nay, man, if Coke were to send for me, I must needs go." It was no doubt a good deal by rough and homely sallies of humour such as this, that King James managed to retain with his subjects even that small share of popularity which he still enjoyed. His administration was full of petty tyranny and great disgraces. Profuse and extravagant in his expenditure, and denied revenue by Parliament, his sales of offices and monopolies did not suffice to meet his needs. In order to make his progress into Scotland, he was obliged to sell to the Dutch the cautionary towns held by the English as security for a loan, for less than *a quarter* of the money raised upon them.

His petty tyranny found vent in numerous acts, one of which, as happening to a clergyman at this

* "The King did within these twenty days sit in the Star Chamber, where he soundly told the judges of their faults, which all men do hope will breed some good effect."—W. Bedwell, Vicar of Tottenham, to his uncle.—*Tanner MSS.*, 74, 78.

time, we will mention more particularly. We learn from the diaries of Laud and others, that it was thought a great thing to get a turn to preach before the King. It was not always a very safe office nevertheless. If the preacher wished to compass preferment, it would be expedient for him to discover beforehand in what theological phase his Majesty's opinions happened to be at the time, and to shape his discourse accordingly. Last year the King had sent down to Oxford directions considered as discouraging Calvinism. This year, a divine bold enough to advocate Arminian views in his presence, experiences the weight of his displeasure. Mr. Edward Sympson, Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, called by Fuller a very good scholar, preached before King James at Royston, and argued that the commission of any great sin extinguishes grace in a man for the time (*i.e.*, till repentance), and also maintained that St. Paul, in the seventh of Romans, is speaking of an *unregenerate* man. This was considered heresy. The two divinity professors at Cambridge were sent to for their opinions; and these being in favour of the Calvinist theory, poor Mr. Sympson was forced to recant.* This excessive tyranny, not only inter-

Preaching before the King.

Mr. Edward Sympson's censure.

* Nicholls's *Progresses of King James*, iii., 452—467. "He had the satisfaction of doing so," says Fuller *(Hist. of Univ. Cambridge)*, "in company with St. Augustine, who expounded the seventh of Romans first of all in the Catholic sense, and afterwards *retracted* and changed his views." All the Greek Fathers, the great majority of the Latin, and all the foremost English divines hold with Mr. Sympson's interpretation.—See Bishop Bull *On Justification*, part. i.

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fering to censure, but obliging a preacher to recant, is altogether reprehensible. Mr. Sympson had, no doubt, conscientiously made up his mind after study, and he had the consent of the Catholic Church throughout the world, with very few exceptions, in favour of his view. Yet is he forced to eat his words in this disgraceful way! This tyranny also was the more galling as it was so extremely capricious. Nearly at the same time that Mr. Sympson was censured at Cambridge, Dr. Mocket, Warden of All Souls, was condemned at Oxford. Mr. Sympson incurred displeasure for advocating a truth lately taught by Arminius; Dr. Mocket had his book burnt because "his extracts out of the Book of Homilies were conceived rather to be framed according to his own judgment, which inclined towards the Calvinian doctrines." * The worthy doctor had translated the English Prayer Book into Latin, and finding the homilies too long, had made extracts from them. To this he had added Jewel's *Apology*, Nowell's *Catechism*, and a treatise of his own, intending to construct a complete work, to give foreign churches a fair notion of the Church of England. But Dr. Mocket had committed an unpardonable wrong against "a potent courtier." The See of Winchester, then occupied by Dr. Montagu, which takes rank as the next after the See of London, had been said in his book to take rank after any whose bishop was a privy-councillor. Upon this the great prelate's indignation was aroused; and all the more readily,

Dr. Mocket's censure.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 76.

because at this time Montagu was on bad terms with Abbot, his former great friend, whose chaplain Dr. Mocket was. The King was applied to, the book publicly burnt, and (the worst part of the matter!) the doctor died of a broken heart.* Truly, in those days, the gift of composition was a dangerous one; even to write without intent to preach (as Mr. Peacham did), might forfeit a man's life: to preach Arminianism was a crime in one place, to advocate Calvinism a heresy in another.

Mr. Selden's censure.

But we have not yet done with recantations and retractations. The next victim was a notable one. Learned Mr. Selden had to swallow the unpalatable morsel of his own words. Heylin considers that the book which was published upon tithes under his name, was, in fact, the result of a grand plot devised by the ill-wishers to the Church, "who thought there could be no readier way to undo the clergy than to reduce them to a beggarly competency." All the passages which related to tithes, in Cotton's library, had been scored under. The extracts were collected and brought together, and the work completed, and "there appeared no other name before it than that of Selden, then of great credit in the world for his known abilities in the retired walks of learning. The history of tithes writ by such an author could not but raise much expectation among some of the laity, who for a long time had gaped after the Church's patrimony, and now conceived and hoped to swallow it down

* Fuller and Heylin.

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without any chewing."* Of the treatise itself we have given an account above. It was doubtless a sufficiently exasperating one to the clergy. They were not only threatened in the tender point of their incomes, already sufficiently impoverished, but reproached with ignorance and laziness, derided for their appearance, and scoffed at for their learning. The author speedily found that he had made an over-venturous attack. Richard Montagu, one of the most clever and pungent writers of the day, "rallied with more breeding and wit, and beat Selden at his own weapon."† Not only did Montagu beat him at the weapons of wit, but he met him on the philological and classical ground on which Selden was supposed to be invincible, and displayed an abstruse learning equal to his own. He fought for *jus divinum* through the ages of the patriarchs, the intricacies of the Jewish law, and the obscure history of the later Jews. He brought against him the authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, Aristotle, and Xenophon, and the meaner names of Harpocration and Didymus; he makes Diodorus Siculus testify for the Carthaginians, and Demosthenes declaim against Androtion for robbing Minerva of her tithes. At last he boldly offers to give up the cause if Selden can produce any nation or country that omitted paying tithes to their gods.

Montagu's answer to Selden.

Dr. Tillesley.

Dr. Tillesley, Archdeacon of Rochester, followed, and undertook the arguments from ecclesiastical antiquity and imperial constitutions. He contends that the earliest fathers of the Church held tithes

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 391. † Collier.

to be a *jus divinum*, and that when imperial constitutions and laws exacted them, they were only declarative of a divine, and not merely introductive of a human right. He produces seventy-two testimonies of fathers and councils, beginning at the second century, and ending at the year 1212, to prove the divine right of tithes. Besides these two powerful antagonists, a third appeared with the formidable name of Nettles, a country clergyman, who attacked the two first chapters of the treatise on the custom of tithing among the Jews.* "He was so galled by Tillesley, gagged by Mountagu, and stung by Nettles, that he never came off in any of his undertakings with more loss of credit."† This was all fair enough. Mr. Selden had attacked what was then considered a great and important truth, and the clergy met him at his own weapons. At this sort of warfare he was well able to defend himself. But it was a mean act of persecution to bring to bear upon a learned and distinguished man the all-powerful and irresponsible authority of the Court of High Commission. This, however, the King and bishops did not hesitate to do, and the learned writer against the divine right of tithes was summoned to appear in the Court at Lambeth. He appeared there in a full court,‡ tendered his submission to the too-powerful divines, and read his recantation from a written paper. It was as follows:—

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Mr. Nettles.

Mr. Selden reads his recantation.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 397, sq.

† Heylin.

‡ January 28, 1619.

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"My Lords—I most humbly acknowledge my error which I have committed in publishing the *History of Tithes*, and especially in that I have at all, by showing any interpretations of Holy Scriptures, by meddling with councils, fathers, or canons, or by whatsoever occurs in it, given any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the Gospel; beseeching your lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeigned protestation of my grief, for that through it I have so incurred both his majesty's and your lordships' displeasure conceived against me in behalf of the Church of England.

"John Selden."*

Thus opinion was interfered with in those days, and learned writers dragooned and schooled. Over-legislation and meddling were the prevailing folly of the time. Not only was the King mixed up in all the theological questions in his own dominions, but he had a finger also in all the disputes in Europe; and wielded his pen equally against Roman cardinals and Dutch schismatics. His interference upon every point with his proclamations and directions, provoked and kept alive the jealousy of his subjects, and made his parliaments

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 392. "This proceeding," says Hallam, "is as much to the disgrace of England as that against Galileo, nearly at the same time, is of Italy. Selden, like the great Florentine astronomer, bent to the rod of power, and made rather too submissive an apology for entering on this purely historical discussion."—*Const. Hist.*, i., 344.

refractory and his people discontented. At this time he adventured upon a matter of all others most likely to produce discontent and ill-feeling, to outrage prejudices which deserved respect, and to give occasion for license which needed not encouragement. In his progress through Lancashire last year, the King had been offended at a Puritanical strictness in the observation of the Lord's Day, which he had found prevalent. It was represented to him that the Papists were gaining much influence through the rigours insisted on by the Puritan clergy, and Morton, Bishop of Chester, who was with the King, recommended him to publish an edict authorising certain sports and games on the afternoons of Sundays. This advice the King adopted. By a proclamation dated from Greenwich, May 24, he signified his pleasure that after the end of Divine service on the Lord's Day, the good people should indulge themselves in lawful sports such as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morris-dances, and such like, and that women should have leave to carry into the Church rushes for the decorating of it, according to their old custom.* Unlawful games,

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King publishes *Book of Sports* for the Lord's Day.

* It should be observed that this questionable proclamation was not the whole of that which the King did for Lancashire. He says: "Out of our zeal for the glory of God, and cure of the souls of many thousands of subjects within the County of Lancaster (there being great want of maintenance for preachers in most parts of that shire) we have appointed £200 of free gift and during our pleasure, to be paid yearly to four preachers who are to preach in the several parts of the county among the impropriations there, by the appointment of the bishop of the diocese."—*Tanner MSS.*, 73, 36.

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however, such as baiting animals, interludes, and especially that which was "prohibited at all times to the meaner sort of people"—bowling—were forbidden.* This declaration, called the *Book of Sports*, was addressed to the people of Lancashire, but understood to apply to the whole of England, and was directed to be read in churches. The Puritan ministers were in an agony. The strict observance of the Lord's Day had been their favourite doctrine, and as being something tangible and definite, the part of religion most readily accepted by the people. They had invested the Christian festival with an absurd and extra-Judaical gloom, and by creating a new class of sins, had brought men's consciences into a deeper subjection to themselves. But these extravagances should have been met by Scriptural argument and reasonable teaching, not by a proclamation enjoining dissipation, which needed not much forcing to make it plead the cause of levity and irreligion against Christian gravity, and devout earnestness. It was met accordingly at once by a most violent opposition. Archbishop Abbot forbade its being read at Croydon, where he was staying at the time; and the utmost point to which the Judaical observance of the Sunday could be pushed, was advocated in a book written by John Trask, a "pretended minister," as Howes calls him, and who for his unfortunate publication was "set in the pillory

Excitement of the Puritan ministers.

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., iv., 58, sq.; Nicholls's *Progresses*, iii., 397. The statute-laws prescribed penalties against bowling, lest it should hinder more warlike exercises, such as archery, &c.—See Morton's *Defence of the Ceremonies*, p. 192.

Sabbatarian controversy.

at Westminster, and whipt to the Fleet, and there to remain prisoner."* King James having thus involved his subjects at home in the hopeless mazes of a Sabbatarian controversy, was now preparing to take part, by means of chosen representatives, in the determined attempt to put down Arminianism in Holland, at the synod, which the Prince of Orange and the States-General had resolved to convene at Dort.

* Howes's continuation of *Stow's Chronicle*, p. 929. It is remarkable that the chronicler says that Trask was punished for teaching that men "ought *not* to keep the Christian Sabbath." Trask afterwards recanted.—See Disraeli's *Charles I.*, ii., 37.

CHAPTER VII.

Disputes between Calvinists and Arminians in Holland—The Five Points of the Arminians—Quarrel between Maurice, Prince of Orange, Barneveldt and Grotius—Synod summoned to meet at Dort—The English Deputies—Their instructions—They are handsomely treated by the States—Late arrival of the Arminian divines—Preliminary discussions in the Synod—Speech of Episcopius—Reproof by the President—A crafty design of the Calvinists—Calvinists wish to avoid the discussion of "Reprobation"—Violence of Gomarus—Foreign divines unfairly made use of in the dismissal of Arminians—The Arminian opinions condemned—English divines form a College—The way of making canons in the Synod—The Arminians banished—Decisions at Dort in no way affect the English Church—Bishop Carlton protests against the Presbyterian platform—Rewards of the English Deputies.

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Disputes between Calvinists and Arminians in Holland.



FTER the death of Arminius at Leyden, the combat was carried on for some time between his disciples and the partisans of Gomar, with varying success. The demands of the Arminians were moderate: they required no more than a bare toleration of their religious creed; and the great names of Barneveldt and Grotius lent a sanction and weight to their opinions. The points in question had not been determined by the Belgic Confession of Faith, so that it was clear each individual had a right to judge

for himself; more than this, there was no public confession of faith of any of the reformed churches which enunciated Calvin's views on Predestination and election.* Evidently therefore the Arminians were entitled to expect moderation and Christian forbearance from their opponents. Maurice, Prince of Orange, first favoured them. A conference was held at the Hague in 1611, another at Delft in 1613, and a pacific edict was issued from the States of Holland to exhort both parties to charity and mutual forbearance. The Calvinists now became seriously alarmed. They attacked and censured the unworthy toleration of their magistrates, and laboured incessantly to crush the Arminians. At this time the controversy between the two was confined to the doctrines relating to predestination and grace. The famous *five points* of the Arminians, containing their views on these subjects, were—

The five points of the Arminians.

(1.) That God from all eternity determined to bestow salvation on those whom he foresaw would persevere unto the end in their faith in Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punishment on those who should continue in their unbelief, and resist unto the end His divine succours.

(2.) That Jesus Christ by His death and sufferings made an atonement for the sins of all mankind in general, and of every individual in particular; that, however, none but those who believe in Him can be partakers of their divine benefit.

(3.) That true faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor

* Mosheim, *Cent. XVII.*, c. ii., 10.

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from the force and operation of free will; since man in consequence of his natural corruption is incapable of thinking or doing any good thing; and that therefore it is necessary to his conversion and salvation, that he be regenerated and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God through Jesus Christ.

(4.) That this divine grace or energy of the Holy Ghost which heals the disorders of a corrupt nature, begins, advances, and brings to perfection everything that can be called good in man, and that consequently all good works, without exception, are to be attributed to God alone, and the operation of His grace; that nevertheless this grace does not force a man to act against his inclination, but may be resisted and rendered ineffectual by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.

(5.) That they who are united to Christ by faith are thereby furnished with abundant strength, and with succours sufficient to enable them to triumph over the seductions of Satan, and the allurements of sin and temptation; but that the question whether such may fall from their faith, and forfeit finally this state of grace, has not yet been resolved with sufficient perspicuity, and must therefore be yet more carefully examined by an attentive study of what the Holy Scriptures have declared on this important point.*

Such were the famous five points of Arminius,

* Mosheim, *Cent. XVII.*, chap. iii., § 4. With regard to the last article, the Arminians afterwards adopted the positive sentiment that "A man may fall from a state of grace."

of which it is not too much to say that they enunciate doctrines held by the great majority of the members of the Church of England at the present day. Yet, in the seventeenth century, they were held to be deadly heresy. Sub-lapsarians and supra-lapsarians combined against them.* It was nothing to these men that none of the early fathers, before the time of Augustine, had ventured to set limits to the Divine grace and mercy. Calvin had said it, and Calvin was more than all the fathers. But the party of Gomar and the Calvinists would scarce have been able to triumph so easily had it not been for the unfortunate quarrel, on political grounds, between Maurice, Prince of Orange, and the grand pensionary Barneveldt, and the learned Grotius. This quarrel, which led to the judicial murder of Barneveldt, and the imprisonment of Grotius,† incited Prince Maurice to undertake the putting down the tenets which had been defended by the pen of Grotius, and had recommended themselves to the mild Christian virtue of Barneveldt. He easily induced the States-General to convene a synod to which the Arminian divines should be cited as upon their trial, and which, from its composition, he might be sure beforehand, would heartily condemn every tenet held by the new school. In

Quarrel between Maurice, Prince of Orange, Barneveldt, and Grotius.

* So called from their different views on the *lapsus* or Fall of Man. The first held that God only *permitted* the Fall, and that his predestination of individuals dates from thence. The other, ascending higher, that God had absolutely predetermined and decreed the Fall.

† See *Life of Grotius*, by De Burigny, for a most interesting account of Barneveldt and his quarrel with the prince.

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this Prince Maurice had the support and advice of King James. Entangled in the dispute by his foolish controversy with Vorstius, the King of Great Britain was at this time violently set against the Arminians, and ready to counsel the most severe measures in their case. The synod was summoned to meet at Dort in the autumn of this year, and to it were invited deputies from the united provinces, and from the Churches of Hessia, Bremen, Switzerland, and the Palatinate. King James was determined that the Church of England should bear a share in the glorious work of annihilating the heretical Arminians, and he accordingly selected and despatched four trusty Calvinistic divines to the solemn conclave. These were Dr. Carlton, Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. Hall, Dean of Worcester; Drs. Ward and Davenant, heads of Colleges in Cambridge. Mr. Walter Balcanquall, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, was afterwards sent to represent the Church of Scotland. These divines were sent by the King with the following instructions:—

Synod summoned to meet at Dort.

The English deputies.

Their instructions.

(1.) They were at once to "inure themselves to the practice of the Latin tongue, that they might deliver themselves with more readiness and facility."

(2.) They were to deliberate together on all points which should arise, and come to an agreement.

(3.) Any new points which should arise were to be judged according to the Scriptures and the Church of England.

(4.) They were to advise the foreign minister to avoid speaking of the "highest points of schools" from the pulpit.

(5.) To advise them to favour no innovations in doctrine.

(6.) That they should conform to the confessions of neighbouring reformed churches.

(7.) To endeavour to get opposing opinions stated moderately.

(8.) That they were to consult with the English ambassador at the Hague.

(9.) To carry themselves "with that advice, moderation, and discretion, as to persons of your quality and gravity shall appertain."*

These instructions were judicious, and appear to have been carefully acted upon. The gravity and moderation of the English deputies were of the utmost value in the synod,† and went far towards preventing some of the wild extravagances into which the heated Dutch controversialists were eager to run. The four doctors left England in October, and having crossed the sea to Middleburgh, arrived safely at the Hague on the 27th of that month. Here they were introduced to Prince Maurice, but without much delay went on to

* Fuller, *Church Hist.*, x., iv., 65.

† Dr. Ward took great pains to prepare himself for the discussion. His letters to Dr. Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, propounding questions on the doctrines in dispute, and Lake's long and elaborate replies, are preserved in the *Tanner MSS.*, vol. 74. He was moderate in his views. "His Majesty likes well of your *via media*," writes Dr. Young to him; "wishing you to hold to the articles of the Church of England in any case."—*Tanner MSS.*, 74, 196.

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Dort, where the synod was opened on November 3. The English divines were treated with much consideration by the States. They were well lodged, and had an allowance made them of ten pounds a day—a far larger allowance than was made to any other foreign theologians, but "politicly proportioned," says Fuller, "in grateful consideration of the greatness of his Majesty who employed them."* Sir Dudley Carlton, English ambassador at the Hague, soon after the beginning of the synod, despatched his chaplain, Mr. John Hales, Fellow of Eton College, to be present at the discussions; and it is from his letters, and those of Mr. Balcanquall, that we gain the fullest information as to the proceedings of the conclave. The Arminian divines did not arrive until the synod had been commenced for a considerable time; in fact, they were very doubtful whether they should come at all. They saw that they were summoned not to take a part in the deliberations, and have a voice in the decisions of the meeting, but to be put on their trial, and to have their tenets condemned. It was probably only the fear of secular punishment, of the danger of which the execution of Barneveldt and the imprisonment of Grotius admonished them, that brought them at last to Dort. "The Calvinists," says Heylin, "had been invited from all parts of Christendom; and yet, not thinking themselves strong enough to suppress their adversaries, they first disabled some of them by ecclesiastical censures, from being chosen members of the

Handsomely treated by the States.

Late arrival of the Arminian divines.

* Fuller, u. s.

synod." * For the assistance of the able allies thus disqualified, the Arminian party petitioned when they had come to the conference, but they were not allowed to obtain their request. To pass away the time, while they were waiting for their intended victims, the Calvinistic divines discussed the preliminaries for a new translation of the Bible, catechizing and catechisms, and the subject of the censure of the press. On November 29, "the synod being met together, Mr. Dean of Worcester (Hall) made in the synod-house a polite and pathetical sermon, on Ecclesiasties vi. Mr. Præses (Bogerman) had requested the foreigners that they would be pleased to bestow in their courses some Latin sermons to entertain the synod till the Arminians made their appearance. My lord bishop refused it because of the sudden warning, but Mr. Dean would needs undertake it." †

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Preliminary discussions in the synod.

At length, on December 6, the long-expected Arminians arrived. They might see at a glance the way in which it was intended that they should be treated. "There is, in the midst of the synod house, a long table set, as it seems, for them; for it hath hitherto been void, no man sitting at it: here chairs and forms being set, they were willed to sit down." ‡ Then Espiscopius, Divinity Professor at Leyden, a man of much learning and great eloquence, upon whom the mantle of Arminius had worthily fallen, stood up and made a speech on behalf of the new comers, declaring that, according

Speech of Episcopius.

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 403.

† Mr. Hales to Sir D. Carlton. ‡ *Ibid.*

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to the words of their citation, they were now come to "hold a conference." These words were at once taken hold of by the opposite party. "It is good that they should be informed," says Polyander, "that they come not to conference, but to propose their opinions with their reasons, and let the synod judge of them." Not only would not the synod allow them the same footing as the other divines, but even the Utrecht deputies, who were known to hold Arminian opinions, were now to be regarded in the light of those summoned on their trial, not of those sent to judge; they were compelled to range themselves with the other Arminians, although at first they had been allowed a place in the synod similar to the Calvinistic deputies. Finding that everything had been thus carefully prepared for the condemnation rather than the hearing of his party, Episcopius, in the name of the Arminians, delivers a long speech, denouncing the Calvinists as guilty of schism in separating themselves from their brethren, and enforcing a tyrannical conformity, reproving them for pretending to be judges in a matter wherein they had already decided, and ending by sketching the constitution of a synod which would be a truly national one, and to which the Arminians would be ready to leave the decision of their cause. For this speech Episcopius was reproved by the president, and the Arminians were told that they must not any longer delay, but give in their written opinions upon the *five points*, and then the synod would proceed to examine them. Thus pressed, they gave in opinions, or theses,

Reproved by the president.

upon the first point, and afterwards on the others, signed by the whole body. Chap. VII. 1618.

Now, however, appeared a notable design of the Calvinistic party. They were determined to examine the Arminians on their theses *one* by *one*. It is evident that this was a plan for displaying a contrariety of sentiment between the different divines, and for causing the less learned and less courageous among them to blunder and break down, which would not fail to be turned to the prejudice of their cause. This plan, therefore, they resisted manfully. Being called upon for their considerations on the catechism, they gave up a paper signed by six of their body, professing that these all agreed in the wording. Several others, however, gave up single replies. Neither theses nor replies suited the taste of the synod. "Two things were misliked," says Mr. Hales. "First, their propounding so many negatives. Secondly, their urging so much to handle the point of *Reprobation*, and that in the first place."* This was the real difficulty. The Calvinists wished to avoid bringing forward their monstrous tenets on the subject of Reprobation. They knew that they were unfit for the ears of the uninitiated; that they led directly to fearful consequences. Episcopius, on the other hand, knew that the strength of his cause lay here, and that his opponents would scarcely venture to defend the logical conclusions to which their doctrines might be pushed. On this ground he still hoped to snatch a triumph from them. But the

A crafty design of the Calvinists.

Calvinists wish to avoid the discussion of Reprobation.

* Mr. Hales to Sir D. Carlton.

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others were too wary. They held to it, that their method, not his, was to be followed—that election was first to be treated of. Being asked by the president whether they would submit to this method, the Arminians answered that they would not. This may seem perhaps over-contentious, but doubtless they had examined the ground, and saw on what their only hope of success was staked. Gomarus, the great enemy of the Arminians, could now no longer contain himself. "Episcopius," cried he, "has falsified the tenet of Reprobation: no man teaches that God has absolutely decreed to cast away men without sin: but as he did decree the *end*, so did he decree the *means*; that is, as he predestinated man to *death*, so he predestinated him to *sin*, the only way to death." "And so he mended the question," says Hales, "as tinkers mend kettles, and made it worse than before."*

Violence of Gomar.

It was now determined to put certain interrogatories, drawn up by the president, on the five articles, to the Arminians, and to require their separate answers. "This thing they much disdained, as pedagogical."† In fact, matters had come to a dead lock. The Calvinists were determined that the Arminians should answer in their way. The Arminians were determined to choose their own way. In vain the foreign divines tried to

* Mr. Hales to Sir D. Carlton. "It is meet that God, when men will be too curious in prying into His secrets, should involve them in errors inextricable, or give them over, εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν. Adoranda non scrutanda mysteria."—Dr. Young to Dr. Ward, *Tanner MSS.*, 74, 180.

† Mr. Hales to Sir D. Carlton.

smooth over and facilitate matters. There was a bitter quarrel, which would not be appeased. The dismissal of the Arminians, as incorrigible, was resolved on. In order to do this with some appearance of fairness, the President, Bogerman, artfully made a catspaw of the foreign divines "The foreigners," says Hales, "think themselves a little indirectly dealt with, in that it being proposed to the whole synod to pass their judgment concerning the behaviour of the Arminians, the provincials were not at all required to speak; and by these means the envy of the whole business was derived upon the foreigners. Whereas, on the contrary, when the like question was proposed formerly, and the foreigners had spoken very favourably in the Arminians' behalf, the provincials stept in and established a rigid sentence against the foreigners liking." "The trick that was put upon us," says Mr. Balcanquall, "was only too palpable; the *Theologi exteri* gave suffrages for their dismission; only one, to wit Steinsius, gave a bitter sentence; and their voices being asked only, who are not above a third part of the synod, the Arminians were called in, and dismissed with such a powdering speech, as I doubt not your lordship hath heard with grief enough: I protest I am much afflicted when I think of it." * The violence of the president did not escape censure even from some of his own followers, but it is probable that he worked himself up into a passion designedly, to avoid giving temperate reasons. "It was a bitter oration," says

The foreign divines unfairly made use of in the dismissal of the Arminians.

* Mr. Walter Balcanquall to Sir D. Carlton.

Chap. VII. 1619.

Heylin, "uttered with fiery eyes, and most virulent language."*

The Arminian opinions condemned.

Having thus got rid of their troublesome opponents, the Calvinists proceeded to discuss, and, of course, to condemn, their opinions. The way they proceeded was to read extracts out of the Arminians' books, and to invite discussion upon them. One of the deputies, honest, but blundering, "took it evil that we took the Arminians' opinions, where they speak best and soundest, but he would have their meaning to be gathered out of all places in their books, where they speak most absurdly."† The work, however, was but a slow one, and was interrupted by frequent and violent altercations, especially between Martinius of Bremen, and Gomarus the Leyden professor.‡ Gomarus still pertinaciously held out for the extreme supralapsarian theory. In company with him, Macrovius, a professor from West Friesland, maintained the horrible blasphemies, "That God wills sin; that he ordains sin, as it is sin; and that by no means he would have all men to be saved."§ The English divines were still the most moderate, reasonable, and charitable of the assemblage.‖ Dr. Hall had

* Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 403.

† Mr. Balcanquall to Sir. D. Carlton.

‡ "Gomarus delivered a speech against the Bremenses, which none but a madman would have uttered."—Balcanquall.

§ Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 404.

‖ The learned William Bedell had written to them this good advice: "Consider if it be not the best course, contenting yourselves to set down in the very words of Scripture the confessed doctrine, and inhibiting all new-fangled forms; for the rest, to give as much scope to opinions as may be."—Bedell to Ward. *Tanner MSS.*, 74, 173.

been obliged to retire through ill-health, and Dr. Goade had taken his place. The four English and the Scotch deputy formed a college, and agreed upon joint opinions among themselves, which they proposed to the synod.* Generally, their views seem to have been received with considerable deference. Gomarus, however, whom nothing could daunt or restrain, gave an "irreverent answer" to the Bishop of Llandaff, who ventured to remind him that there was such a thing as charity and moderation; but this appears to have been generally condemned. The other divines were also formed into colleges, according to their country, and composed in common written judgments on the several points, which were read publicly in the synod. When, however, it came to the making of canons, the English deputies were by no means pleased with the method adopted. The president constructed the canons, and proposed them to the synod, to vote *placet* or *non placet*. As he had an obedient following of provincial deputies, he could by this means carry almost anything he pleased. Mr. Balcanquall writes to Sir D. Carlton, entreating him to interfere. "If your lordship do not procure good counsel to be sent here for the constructing of canons, we are like to make the synod

English divines form a college.

The way of making canons in the synod.

* Upon most points they seem to have been pretty unanimous. Upon the "Extent of Redemption," however, they differed. Bishop Carlton and Dr. Goade held that Christ died only for the elect, Drs. Davenant and Ward that he died for the whole world.—See Bishop of Llandaff's letter to Sir D. Carlton; Dr. Davenant *On Extent of Redemption;* Appendix to Hales's *Golden Remains*.

Chap. VII. 1619.

a thing to be laughed at in after ages.* They would have their canons so full charged with catechetical speculations, as they will be ready to burst."† Again, "They are so eager to kill the Arminians, that they would make their words have that sense which no grammar can find in them."‡ "They are mending their canons, and have sent them worse than they were."§ "All I can say is, me thinketh it is hard that every man should be deposed from the ministry who will not hold every particular canon; never did any Church of old, nor any reformed Church, propose so many articles to be held '*sub pœnâ Excommunicationes.*'"‖ Yet this ruthless piece of persecution was fully carried out. "Presently, upon the ending of the synod, the Arminians were required to subscribe to their own condemnation; and for refusing to do so, they were all banished by a decree of the States-General, with their wives and children (to the number of seven hundred families or thereabout), and forced to beg their bread even in desolate places."¶ Let us hope that when next the Protestant churches shall hold a council, greater wisdom, moderation, and charity, will characterise their proceedings.

The Arminians banished.

It is almost unnecessary to say that the decisions

* "His Majesty will cause letters to be written to his ambassador there, to signify his pleasure to the synod, as you desire, that in their canons they would have a special eye to the definitions of ancient councils against the Pelagians, and the constitutions of other reformed churches."—Dr. Young to Dr. Ward. *Tanner MSS.*, 74, 196.

† Mr. Balcanquall to Sir D. Carlton, March 25, 1619.

‡ Ditto, April 15. § *Ibid.* ‖ *Ibid.*

¶ Heylin's *Presbyterians*, p. 405.

of the Synod of Dort do in no way bind the English Church. The divines who attended there from England were merely deputed by the King, and not commissioned by the Church or empowered to act for it. Nor was it possible for them consistently to agree with all the proceedings of the synod, even supposing them not to dissent on the matters of predestination and grace. The Belgic Confession of Faith was in one of the sessions brought in to be subscribed by the Dutch and approved by the foreign divines. In this confession of faith it is distinctly asserted that the ministers of Christ have all the same "character, jurisdiction, and authority." This, of course, could not be admitted by the members of an episcopal church. Accordingly, Bishop Carlton formally protested in the synod against "the strange conceit of parity of ministers;" and afterwards, in a conference which he held with some divines of the synod, told them that the cause of all their troubles was having no bishops. To this (according to Bishop Carlton) their answer was, "That they heartily wished that they could establish themselves on the model of the Church of England, but they had no prospect of such a happiness; and since the civil government had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful unto them." *

Decisions at Dort in no way affect the English Church.

Bishop Carlton protests against the Presbyterian platform.

The synod ended on April 29, and the English divines who had attended it, having been presented with £200 to pay their expenses home, and a

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 416.

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handsome gold medal commemorative of the synod, started for a pleasure-trip through the chief cities of the Low Countries. They were everywhere well received, except at Leyden, where the Arminian opinions prevailed; and having been satisfactorily *fêted*, they returned to England with letters of commendation from the States-General, and were graciously welcomed by the King. More solid rewards followed. Bishop Carlton was translated from Llandaff to Chichester, Dr. Davenant was made Bishop of Salisbury, and Mr. Balcanquall Master of the Savoy.* But the strife, which they had gone to Holland to quell, soon began to rage in England, and the unwise interference in the disputes of our neighbours soon brought these hopeless questions of Calvinism and Arminianism to be the subjects of fierce quarrels among ourselves.

Rewards of the English deputies.

* Fuller's *Church History*, x., v., 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

Foreign politics influence English Church history—Abbot's letter —He speaks the sentiments of the Puritans—The King against his son-in-law—Calvinism begins to be discouraged—Abbot out of favour—Bishop Andrewes—Williams, Dean of Westminster—The first settlements in New England—Defeat of the Elector and seizure of the Palatinate—A Parliament called—It at once attacks the monopolists—Williams's politic advice to Buckingham—Williams is made Lord Keeper and Bishop of Lincoln—He fawns upon Buckingham—Procures Laud's preferment with difficulty—The Archbishop in trouble —Noble behaviour of Bishop Andrewes—The Bishop of Llandaff disgraced—Story of Neile, Bishop of Durham—Letter to the judges not to convict Romanists—Excitement in the country—Directions for preaching—Archbishop Abbot's letter to explain the directions—Mild policy of Williams in Church matters—The Archbishop severe—Non-residence of bishops—Laud in favour with Buckingham—Story of Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro.

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FOREIGN politics now began to have a great influence upon the history of the English Church. The nation was divided into parties, or rather the nation was on one side and the Court on the other. By the people generally, and the Puritans especially, great interest was felt in the Elector Palatine, the King's son-in-law, who had now assumed the

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title of King of Bohemia. The King, however, held aloof from the struggle, refused to recognise the elected Prince, and bent upon the scheme of marrying Charles Prince of Wales to the Infanta of Spain, approximated daily more to the Catholic interest in European politics than to the Protestant. Upon the assumption of the Crown of Bohemia by the Elector Frederick, Archbishop Abbot, who was confined to his bed by gout, wrote a letter to Secretary Nanton, intended to be read before the council, in which he strongly advocates the policy of supporting Frederick with all the power of Great Britain. In it he says, "When God hath set up the prince that is chosen to be a mark of honour throughout all Christendom, to propagate his gospel and to protect the oppressed, I dare not, for my part, give advice, but to follow where God leads. Methinks I do in this, and in that of Hungary, foresee the work of God, that by piece and piece the kings of the earth, that gave their power unto the beast, shall now tear the whore and make her desolate, as St. John in his Revelations hath foretold. I pray you, therefore, with all the spirit you have, to put life into this business."* Thus argued the archbishop. "He was known," says Neal, "to speak the sense of the whole Puritan party."† It may be that this did not make his words more acceptable; but whether from dislike to the Puritans at home, or from a desire to please the King of Spain, James decided against his son-

Abbot's letter.

He speaks the sentiments of the Puritans.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 418, from *Cabala.*

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 111.

in-law, and advised him to decline the Crown of Bohemia. It appears that in this point his views were sound and judicious.* Frederick had no real chance of success against the whole strength of the empire, and that of all the Catholic powers of Europe. English help, however freely given, would only have prolonged, without materially influencing, the fate of the contest; and the Protestant interest, instead of being helped, would have only been still further depressed and weakened. But the King's unwillingness to embark in the hopeless cause of his son-in-law, was immediately interpreted in the country as a complete apostacy from Protestant views, and a surrender of himself body and soul into the power of the hated Spaniard. The indignation of the people was excessive. Neal, doubtless, expresses the feelings of the times when he writes, "Had the King of England had any remains of honour, courage, or regard for the Protestant religion, he might have preserved it in the Palatinate and established it in Bohemia, but this cowardly prince would never draw his sword for the best cause in the world." †

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The King against his son-in-law.

The effect of this alienation from Protestant interests abroad, and the desire to please the Spaniard, was the cause of a gradual revolution in Church politics at home. Archbishop Abbot and his party began now to decline in power. The Calvin-

Calvinism begins to be discouraged.

* "If James had listened to some sanguine advisers, he would have supported the pretensions of Frederick. But neither his own views of public law, nor true policy, dictated such an interference."— Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, i., 350.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 112.

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istic interest, which had been so zealously supported at Dort, began now to lose influence, and Arminians were openly tolerated and even preferred. The Archbishop would appear to have gradually recovered the King's favour, after his disgrace in the matter of Lady Essex's divorce. The utter downfall of the lady, her new husband, and all her friends, which was brought about by the discovery of the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; the rise of the new favourite, Buckingham, all tended to reverse the King's views in the matter, and at the time of the Dort Synod, Abbot and Calvinism reigned triumphant once more. But the decided stand made by the Archbishop in favour of the Elector, weakened his power. Puritanism was again decried and derided, and under the paramount influence of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, a better and more tolerant feeling was now displayed towards the Romanists in England. The King could not hope to prosper in his negotiations with Spain while his penal laws pressed so heavily upon the cherished religion of the Spaniard. In a letter to the King of Spain, James promised "That no Roman priest or other Catholic should henceforth be condemned upon any capital law, and although he could not at present rescind the laws, inflicting only pecuniary mulcts, yet he would so mitigate them as to oblige his Catholic subjects to him."* The Puritans raised a loud outcry at this unrighteous slackness.† They did not relish per-

* Rushworth's *Collections*, i., 14.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 116.

secution for themselves, but they thought it quite expedient for the Romanists. But the dominant party was every day setting more decidedly in the opposite direction. Archbishop Abbot had never been liked at court. He was "sour and supercilious," says Hacket.* The death of the Queen, who appears always to have been friendly to him, had robbed him of a support; he was strongly condemned by the Church party for the number of books which he had licensed, in which the Church ceremonial was disparaged;† and henceforth his voice was no more potent at the council-board. At the same time the influence of Lancelot Andrewes, created on the death of Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, was on the ascendant. The character of this great prelate, on which a slight stain rested for his unworthy compliance in the matter of Lady Essex, shines out now with undimmed lustre. He was a man who excited the enthusiasm of his contemporaries. "This is that Andrewes," exclaims Hacket, "the ointment of whose name is sweeter than all spices. This is that celebrated Bishop of Winton, whose learning King James admired above all his chaplains. He was the most apostolical divine of his age, of a most venerable gravity, yet most sweet in all commerce, the most devout that ever I saw, and of such a growth in learning that very able clerks were of a low stature to him; full of alms and charity; a certain patron

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Archbishop Abbot out of favour.

Bishop Andrewes.

* *Life of Williams*, i., 63.

† "His house was a sanctuary for the most eminent of the factious party, and he licensed their most pernicious writings."—Clarendon's *Hist. Rebellion*, b. i.

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to scholars of ability; in the pulpit an Homer among preachers."* Yet great, doubtless, as was the influence of Bishop Andrewes at this time, there was a younger and less known divine, who was about speedily to grow into a height of favour which should eclipse that of all others—a man, if not so deeply read, yet far more dexterous and ready than the Bishop of Winchester; one who was a perfect marvel for his aptitude for business, and the instinctive shrewdness with which he mastered the most complicated subjects; who had above all an excellent portion of common sense, and a good understanding of the real temper and wants of the country. This was Dr. Williams, whose rapid rise we have before followed to the Deanery of Salisbury, and who had been soon able to exchange that preferment for the more eligible one of Dean of Westminster; a position much coveted by Churchmen, as it kept them in constant nearness to the court, and in the way of meriting and securing higher preferment. Williams, who was profoundly ambitious, and fully conscious of his own powers, soon perceived the only sure road to advancement by the King—Buckingham was all-powerful. "The Doctor," says his biographer, "had crept far for ground-ivy, but he must clasp upon this tree or none, to climb."† Very soon the opportunity of obliging Buckingham was given to him, and the obligation was well repaid.

Williams, Dean of Westminster.

Before, however, we come to the narration of the

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 45.
† *Ib.*, p. 39.

rise of the clerical Lord Keeper, we must not omit to chronicle a fact which has been rendered important by after events, and modern associations. The first party of settlers which sailed from our shores to the New World, started under the auspices of Chief Justice Popham in the year 1606.* They were brave and gallant spirits, but withal inexperienced and ill-judging in their operations. They "settled themselves low," says Wilson, "and few of them were left to direct those that succeeded in a better way. Yet people, by dear experience, overcame it by degrees, being easily supplied by men whose industry and affections taught them that there was more hope to find safety in New England than in the old."† Another considerable party of settlers, being most of them men under censure or suspicion for Puritanical principles, set sail in 1614, and now this year (1620) Mr. John Robinson of Leyden, the Father of the Independents, finding his congregation dwindling away, and becoming absorbed into the Dutch Church, entertains the idea of transporting them bodily into the New World, where they would be safe and uncontaminated by the secularising influences of the Old. With this view he induced several of the members of his church to sell their estates, and make a common bank, with which they purchased a small ship of sixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The adventurers, to the number of 120,

The first settlements in New England.

* There appears to have been an attempt made in 1587. See Howes's *Chronicle*, p. 918.

† Wilson's *History of James I.* p. 76.

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sailed from Delfthaven on August 5, and reached the shores of the New World on November 9. They arrived in a miserable condition. Sick, weary, dispirited, helpless, they had the winter upon them with no provision to meet it. Their company was divided into nineteen families, each family having an allotment of land for lodging and gardens. The winter season was a prolonged struggle for bare life; they had not recovered the effects of the voyage, and sickness prevailed among them. Their ill-built huts did not avail to keep out the piercing cold; they were without any one skilled in medicine, without wholesome food or warm clothing, so that within two or three months half the company were dead, and of the emaciated creatures who survived, six or seven only were capable of helping the rest. Thus they dragged through the miserable winter; but the coming of spring cheered them. Fresh supplies arrived from England, and the little band succeeded in founding the settlement of New Plymouth, which was henceforth to prove a happy and safe asylum for Nonconformists driven by strictness of rule from their own native land.*

Defeat of the Elector and seizure of the Palatinate.

In the meantime, on the Continent of Europe, the Elector Palatine had been decisively defeated at Prague, the valour of his assailants being ill met by his own discontented troops, who were mutinous for want of pay. The treasure, which he could not bring himself to furnish for his troops, he was forced to abandon to his enemies, and driven before

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii. 112. sq.; Masson's *Life of Milton*, i. 379, sq.

them in headlong flight, he lost not only his new kingdom of Bohemia, but his original possessions on the Rhine. When things had taken this turn, his father-in-law was at length aroused to help him. For this purpose, which he knew would be popular, the King resolved, after an interval of seven years, again to summon a Parliament. It met on January 30,* and the King opened it with a speech. After describing what he considered to be the proper functions of a Parliament, he says, "As for religion, laws enough are made already. It stands in two points, persuasion and compulsion; men may persuade, but God must give the blessing. Jesuits, priests, Puritans, and sectaries, are forward to persuade unto their own ends; and so ought you the Bishops in your example and preaching." Having then declared his intention of helping the Elector to recover his original dominions, he asks the Parliament to assist "his necessities," as they had done to his predecessors.† Instantly, however, the Commons rushed with open mouth to the subject of monopolies and impositions. "There were canker-worms, harpies, projectors, who, between the easiness of the Lord Marquis (Buckingham) to procure, and the readiness of the Lord Chancellor (Bacon) to comply, had obtained patent commissions for latent knaveries."‡ Buckingham was terrified by the outcry. His own brother, Sir Edward Villiers, was one of the parties accused by name, and he himself had been principally interested in procuring all these oppressive grants from the King.

A Parliament called.

It at once attacks the monopolists.

* Rushworth, i., 21. † *Ibid.*
‡ Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 49.

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Williams's politic advice to Buckingham.

It was now that Williams, Dean of Westminster, came, like a *Deus ex machinâ*, to help the bewildered and frightened favourite. He pointed out to him that the Parliament in redressing these grievances was employed about its proper work, and recommended him by no means to throw any obstacles in its way, but to facilitate its proceedings against the accused parties as much as possible. "Delay not one day," said the shrewd Churchman, "before you give your brother Sir Edward an embassage to some of the princes of Germany. Those empty fellows, Sir G. Mompesson and Sir F. Michell, let them be made victims to the public wrath. Damn all monopolies and patents of griping projection, by one proclamation, and though it is known that these vermin haunted your chamber, and is much whispered that they set up trade with some little license from your Honour, yet, when none shall appear more forward than yourself to crush them, the discourse will come about that their devices which take ill were stolen from you by misrepresentation when you were but new-blossomed in court, whose deformities being discovered, you love not your own mistakings, but are most forward to recall them."* It cannot be denied that this advice was shrewd and politic, whatever else we may think of it. Williams understood the temper of Parliament, and saw that, in this matter at least, they were not to be trifled with. Buckingham, much pleased with the suggestions, took the Dean with him to the King, and the royal master

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 50.

received the advice with as much satisfaction as the favourite. The suggestions of Williams were at once acted on, and "out of this bud the Dean's advancement very shortly spread into a full-grown flower."* When that miserable episode in our history took place, and the great Bacon was convicted of the meanest of crimes, the Great Seal, which was taken from him, was entrusted, at the urgent request of Buckingham, to the hands of Dean Williams. It was an advancement which struck the nation with amazement. It was long since a churchman had held the seals.† The members of his own profession railed upon him for deserting it for a secular employment. The lawyers were beside themselves with vexation and anger. The very crown and garland of their profession was snatched from them, to be placed on an alien head. The great office of Chancellor, the promotion to which ought to have distributed preferment through every grade of the profession, brought them nothing but an indignity and an affront. Yet the new Lord Keeper, a man of unexampled industry and wonderful talent,‡ soon managed to raise himself beyond the level of their contempt, and during his short tenure of office, showed himself not unequal to the great requirements of the place.§

Williams made Lord Keeper.

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 50.

† The last clerical Chancellor was Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, who was Chancellor at the accession of Elizabeth, and was by her deprived of his office.

‡ Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 127; Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. i.

§ "He managed the office to admiration. Impartial men of the best and clearest judgments highly commended him."—Fuller, x., v., 26.

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Williams made Bishop of Lincoln.

He was almost immediately created Bishop of Lincoln, that see being vacant at the time, and managed, together with the see, to hold a prebend in the Cathedral church at Lincoln, as well as his living of Walgrave and the deanery of Westminster, "so that he was a perfect diocese within himself," says Heylin, "being bishop, dean, residentiary, and parson: and all these at once."* A perfectly insatiable craving for good places and good things seems to have possessed this eminent man. Just before his appointment as Lord Keeper, he had been petitioning for the See of London, and his letter to Buckingham (printed in the *Cabala*) is, perhaps, one of the coolest begging letters on record. Almost immediately after his appointment as Keeper, he asks for Canterbury,† and very soon again for the provostship of Eton, in a whining tone which seems almost inconceivable. "His Majesty (as your Grace best knoweth) promised me at the delivery of the Seal a better bishoprick, and intended it certainly if any such had fallen. My charge is exceeding great, my *bribes are very little;* my bishoprick, deanery, and *commendams* do not clear unto me above one thousand pounds a year at the uppermost. It hath pleased God that the casualties of my office (which is all the benefit of the same, and enriched my Lord Elsmere) hath not been worth to me these two years past one shilling."‡ The servility with which the Lord

* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 86. Williams held *nine* preferments, according to his own account, when made Lord Keeper. See letter to Buckingham, *Cabala*, p. 55.

† *Cabala*, p. 56.

‡ *Cabala*, p. 85. One is rather doubtful about believing every

Keeper fawned upon the favourite Buckingham, is anything but pleasing. On one occasion Dr. Scot was a candidate for the Deanery of York, and Williams having been informed that he was a profligate reprobate, had composed a letter to Buckingham who favoured him, to dissuade him from procuring the appointment. He did not, however, venture to oppose Scot altogether, but only asked that he might have a less valuable deanery than York given to him. And this very mild letter, after having written, he was actually afraid to send. When next he addresses Buckingham, he is quite willing that Scot should have any preferment he pleases, so long as the great man's favour is not forfeited to himself.*

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He fawns upon Buckingham.

At the time that Williams was made Bishop of Lincoln, there were three other sees vacant, Exeter, Salisbury, and St. David's. The Lord Keeper was in such overflowing favour with the King, that the nominations to these preferments seemed to rest with him. He easily procured the appointment of Dr. Carew to Exeter, and Dr. Davenant to Salisbury; but when it came to the appointment to St. David's, the case was different. Williams had been directed by Buckingham to ask this for Laud, who had managed to recommend himself to the fa-

Procures Laud's preferment with difficulty.

word of my Lord Keeper's, as he himself takes credit with Buckingham for having *often lied* to the Marquis of Hamilton in a matter in which Buckingham was interested.—*Cabala*, p. 78.

* *Cabala*, pp. 99, 100. Yet Buckingham was very soon "not altogether pleased with the Lord Keeper's observance, and looked upon him with a stranger countenance."—Hacket's *Williams*, i., 107.

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vourite, and he pleaded his cause accordingly. But Archbishop Abbot, who ever suspected and disliked Laud, had prejudiced the King against him, and the Lord Keeper had very great difficulty in obtaining the appointment for him. "You press well," said the King, "and I hear you with patience; but the plain truth is, I keep Laud back from all places of rule and authority, because I find he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well. I speak not at random, for when three years since I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this Church of England, I gave them promise that I would try their obedience no further. Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the liturgy and canons of this nation; but I sent him back again with the frivolous draught he had drawn."* If this story be true, King James is here seen displaying more than ordinary judgment and appreciation of character.

The four bishops-designate had now, however, an unexpected bar put to their advancement. One of the last things we should have expected to hear of the Puritanical primate doing is indulging in the sports of the field. Yet at Lord Zouch's invitation, he went to kill a buck in Bramshill park, in Hampshire. A sad accident happened at the unaccustomed sport: the Archbishop's arrow pierced a keeper, who quickly died from the effects of the wound. The poor prelate was overwhelmed with

The Archbishop in trouble.

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 64.

grief; he retired to his alms house at Guildford, utterly abashed and broken-spirited. Meantime, some of the chief prelates were speculating whether they could not, out of this unfortunate accident, construct a canonical necessity for his deposition. Williams, not yet consecrated to Lincoln, at once asked for the primacy;* others doubtless had it in their thoughts. The bishops-designate could not think of being consecrated by one who was stained with homicide. The inferior clergy exulted, for "he was not much beloved by them," says Fuller, "as over-rigid and austere." But the King sent to assure him of his favour. Sir E. Coke at once destroyed the ridiculous pretence of his being engaged in an unlawful occupation.† The Archbishop returned to Lambeth, and "the squeamish and nice-conscienced elects" were consecrated without him.‡ This was a business which reflected no credit on the bishops. "It is strange to see how suddenly many men started up canonists and casuists," says Fuller, "who formerly had small skill in that profession." One prelate, however, distinguished himself by a disinterested equity. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, would without doubt, have succeeded to the primacy at this time had Abbot been deprived. But Andrewes boldly took the part of the persecuted Archbishop. He reproved

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Noble behaviour of Bishop Andrewes.

* See his letter to Buckingham, *Cabala*, p. 56.

† Sir E. Coke pointed out that hunting was not uncanonical, because, by an old law, it was ordained that a bishop at his death was to leave his pack of hounds to the King. Bishop Juxon, the best of the Laudian bishops, was very fond of this sport.

‡ Fuller, x., v., 18.

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his brethren for exaggerating the offence, and pointed out that even if the offence were against the canons, yet that these ought not in all cases to be pressed to their utmost strictness.*

The Bishop of Llandaff disgraced.

But if this upright conduct of Bishop Andrewes did honour to the bench of bishops, a great scandal was cast upon that body by the censure pronounced in the House of Lords, on May 30, on Dr. Field, Bishop of Llandaff. We have printed above the scandalous letter which this prelate addressed to Buckingham. He now stood convicted of acting as jackal to Lord Bacon, and of procuring bribes for the Chancellor, with a heavy commission to himself for transacting the business.† This mean and contemptible crime was lightly punished, by consent of the Lords, by a reproof to be administered by the Archbishop in Convocation. The stigma must have been a very terrible one, but Bishop Field was by no means overwhelmed by the disgrace. He was twice translated afterwards to better sees, for he did not court the all-powerful Buckingham in vain. When accused in the House of Lords, Bishop Field found a defender in a prelate of a spirit congenial to his own, Neile, now

* Fuller, x., v., 16. Andrewes was one of the Commission of Bishops and Civilians appointed to try whether Abbot had become irregular. Heylin (*Life of Laud*, p. 88) says that Andrewes took Abbot's part from fear of Williams being made Archbishop, if he were deprived. I cannot but think, however, that he himself had by far the best chance of the preferment, and give him credit for acting disinterestedly.

† Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii. We must not confuse this divine with the famous Dr. Richard Field, who wrote the treatise *Of the Church*, and died Dean of Gloucester.

Bishop of Durham. Some of the stories against this fortunate place-hunter are too bad to reproduce. There is one, however, sufficiently well known and often quoted, but which deserves to be repeated, as it shows the ready wit of a greater man than Neile. Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neile, Bishop of Durham, were on one occasion standing behind the King's chair, when His Majesty turned round to them and asked, "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without the formality of Parliament?" The Bishop of Durham readily answered, "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils." Whereupon the King turned and said to the Bishop of Winchester, "Well, my lord, what say you?" "Sir," said he, "I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it."* At this answer the King and the company were highly pleased, but we may easily imagine that the Bishop of Durham was not oversatisfied at the home application of his doctrine. It does not appear that, with the exception of the censure on Bishop Field, the Convocation had much to do at this time. The Archbishop was in trouble, and they had no license to make canons. They were very attentive in hearing the litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, but sat among the tombs of Westminster Abbey, like living corpses among the dead, as one of their prolocutors expressed it.†

Story of Neile, Bishop of Durham.

* Quoted in *State Trials*, vol. ii., from Johnson's *Life of Waller*, who was present.

† Fuller, x., v., 27.

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Meantime, the country was growing every day more uneasy at the negotiations for the Spanish match, and the increasing favour shown to Roman Catholics. The Parliament, after having been prorogued, met again in November, and immediately began to remonstrate with the King on the favour shown to the Popish religion. The King, who was in a very bad humour, answered angrily, and ended the dispute by dissolving the Parliament, having torn with his own hand a leaf out of the journals, which recorded a protest made by the House of Commons, declaring their liberties and privileges.* The indulgence to Romanists was carried still further, as if in contemptuous defiance of the popular sentiment. The Lord Keeper, by the King's order, wrote to the judges, telling them on the ground of reasons of state, "to make no niceness or difficulty to extend his princely favour to all such as they shall find prisoners for any Church recusancy, or refusing the oath of supremacy, or dispersing of Popish books, or any other point of recusancy that shall concern religion only."† Upon this, Jesuits and recusants to the number of 4,000 (says Neal, giving Prynne as his authority), were released.‡ The sudden reappearance of this vast band of confessors must have added not a little to the general uneasiness and discontent at the

Letter of Lord Keeper to the Judges.

* Rushworth, i., 53, 54.

† Rushworth, i., 63; Dodd's *Ch. Hist.*, v., Appendix xlvi.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 117; Prynne's *Hidden Works of Darkness*, 13. This calculation is repudiated by Fuller as ridiculously over-estimated. It is adopted by the Romanist historian, Dodd, *Ch. Hist.*, v., 121.

Excitement in the country.

policy and conduct of the King, which at this time prevailed.* The pulpits rang with denunciations of Papist and Arminians, and the great peril to which the orthodox faith was exposed. The fearful notion of a toleration for Romanists was more than the Puritanical mind could bear, and it became almost frantic at the notion. This strong feeling was aggravated by what was taking place abroad. While the King was mediating and negotiating, and hoping to do all by the Spanish match, the Palatinate was being miserably ravaged by the Imperial troops, and the Protestants there and in Bohemia ruthlessly massacred. Everybody saw that James was being played with, and that the influence of Spain was either not sufficient to check the war, or else that it was not honestly exerted.† The King, however, was not to be turned aside from his course. To check the license of preachers who excited the people, he issued a letter from Windsor, August 10, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, containing directions for preachers as to the subjects on which they were to preach, and how far they were to go. These were embodied under six heads, which enjoin—

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 363.

† One of his subjects, under the name of "Tom Tell-truth," remonstrated pretty freely with the King. "That you are the head of the Church, your subjects dare not doubt, but of what Church they would be glad to know. The triumphant, they say, it cannot be, because there be corruptions and abominations in it, and how far it is from being militant, they call heaven and earth to witness. Therefore they conclude it must be the Church dormant, or none."—*Tanner MSS.*, 73, 199. See also a paper called *Tears of the Oppressed People of England.*—*Tanner MSS.*, 73, 304.

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Directions for preachers.

(1.) That no preacher under a bishop or a dean was to preach on subjects not comprehended in the 39 Articles.

(2.) That no sermon was to be preached on Sunday afternoons, except on points of the catechism, and that catechizing was to be preferred to preaching.

(3.) That no preacher under a bishop or a dean should handle the deep points of election, predestination, reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of grace.

(4.) That no preacher was to set limits to the prerogative.

(5.) That no preacher was to use railing speeches against either Papists or Puritans.

(6.) That the archbishop and bishops should be more wary in licensing preachers, and that all lecturers should be licensed in the Court of Faculties under a recommendation from the bishop of the diocese.

Those that offended against these injunctions were to be suspended for a year and a day, until his Majesty should prescribe some further punishment with advice of Convocation.*

In this public document we have the complete reversal of the policy which upheld the Synod of Dort. "The King," says Neal, "had assisted in maintaining these doctrines in Holland, but will not have them propagated in England. From this time all Calvinists were in a manner excluded from

* Rushworth, i., 64, 65; Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 146—151.

Court preferments."* One of the events which had principally moved the King to adopt these repressive measures, had taken place in the University of Oxford a short time before. Mr. Knight, of Pembroke College, had ventured to preach Paræus's doctrine, as given in his Commentary on 13th Romans, that subjects might take up arms against their princes in defence of religion. Paræus's books had been seized and burnt; their tenets condemned in Convocation, and all members of that body were obliged to take an oath that they agreed with the sentence given against them.† Men were astonished at the sudden change of sentiment that had come over the Government, and the strictness of restraint within which preachers were confined. Even the orthodox began to murmur, and to exclaim, that, in being thus tongue-tied and gagged, the freedom of their office was gone.‡ To pacify their alarms, the Archbishop was directed to write to the Bishop of London (Mountain). "The grave and weighty reasons" which induced the King to issue the directions, are there declared to be the "growth of popery and anabaptism," which is said to be principally caused by "the lightness, affectedness, and unprofitableness of that kind of preaching which hath been of late years too much taken up in court, university, city, and country. The usual scope of very many preachers is noted to be soaring up in points of divinity too deep for the capacity of

Chap. VIII. 1622.

Archbishop Abbot's letter to explain the Directions.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 119—20.
† Collier, 7, 438; Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 146.
‡ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 99.

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the people," and neglecting the fundamental truths taught in the catechism. His Majesty, it is said, desires not to abridge, but rather to increase, the number of sermons, "by renewing every afternoon in all parish churches throughout the kingdom that primitive and most profitable exposition of the catechism, wherewith the people, yea, the very children, may be timely seasoned and instructed in all the heads of the Christian religion, the which kind of exposition (to our amendment be it spoken) is more diligently observed in all the reformed churches of Europe, than of late it hath been in England."* It is doubtful whether this very sensible letter gave contentment to the exasperated preachers thus checked in their controversial duels. In some places, says Fuller, "some over active officials, more busy than their bishops, tied up preachers in the afternoon to the very letter of the catechism, questioning them, if exceeding the questions and answers therein, as allowing them no liberty to dilate and enlarge themselves thereupon."† There were some, however, now in high places who could appreciate moderate measures.

Mild policy of Williams in Church matters.

Williams, who, both as bishop and chancellor, had a very great power in church matters, appears to have exercised his authority and influence in a mild and conciliatory spirit. Thus he saved Mr. Ward of Ipswich, a famous preacher at that time,

* *Cabala*, p. 105. This letter is given wrongly in the *Cabala* as the letter of Lord Keeper Williams. See Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 147, note.

† Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, x., vii., 5.

from the censure of his diocesan, Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich, and induced the bishop to let Mr. Ward continue his lecture at Ipswich. "And I aver it, upon the faith of a good witness," says Hacket, "that, after this, Bishop Harsnet acknowledged, that Mr. Ward was as useful a man to assist him in his government as was in all his diocese."* In like manner he administered his own diocese, being very mild and forbearing towards those who were scrupulous about conformity. He went upon the sound principle, that an extra severity which makes martyrs, is much more likely to prejudice a cause than to serve it; yet, though "they were not imperiously commanded to be silent, yet enough was spoken to their face to put their folly to silence."† It was for the same reason that the Lord Keeper never would attend the sittings of the Court of High Commission. He disliked the arbitrary severity of the proceedings. It was repugnant to his sense of justice to take a part in a sentence which deprived some unhappy clerk of all his maintenance for an offence in which he

* Hacket's *Williams*, i., 95. In 1624, Bishop Harsnet was complained against in the House of Lords on 6 Articles. (1.) That he disheartened and inhibited preachers. (2.) That he allowed images in churches. (3.) That he punished people for not praying towards the east. (4.) That he punished a minister for catechizing his family. (5.) That he used extortion in many ways. (6.) That he did not enter institutions, to the prejudice of patrons. The bishop defended himself, and denied or explained away the accusations. The matter was referred to the High Commission, to be examined into by the Archbishop of Canterbury; but nothing more appears to have been heard of it.—Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

† Hacket, u. s.

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had been forced to criminate himself. The Archbishop was bitterly severe to all, except Puritans; and never having been curate, vicar, or rector himself, could not make sufficient allowance for the difficulties and temptations of the country pastor, isolated from all opportunities of intellectual culture in a rude age of sensual excess, amidst rough squires and farmers.* Perhaps, too, the Lord Keeper may have thought the more indulgence due to the country clergy, from the consciousness that the bishops did not set them a very useful example. Williams himself did not go to reside among his clergy for four years and a half after his consecration; Laud having been appointed Bishop of St. David's in 1621, in the summer of next year went down to take a look at his Welsh diocese and his house at Aberguily, but soon returned to Court (August 15, 1622), where we find him occupied in disputing with the Jesuit Fisher in presence of Buckingham's mother, who had been induced by the arts of that wily proselytizer to turn Romanist. The disputation did not avail to convince the mother, but it seems to have had a great effect upon the son. He became much attached to Laud, who now styles himself his confessor and the keeper of his conscience. It is now that the future archbishop records a dream which he had, that the Lord Keeper was disgraced (a pretty sure index of his waking thoughts), and being much in the company of the King as Buckingham's friend, and a disputer against the Jesuits, "it was no hard matter

The Archbishop severe.

Non-residence of Bishops.

Laud in favour with Buckingham.

* Hacket, i., 98.

for him to obtain the renewing and enlarging of his *commendam* by the addition of the Parsonage of Creek in Northamptonshire, into which he was instituted and inducted at the end of January."* It would be curious to ascertain what the poor clergy of Northamptonshire thought of this. Chap. VIII. 1622.

The influence of the Spanish ambassador and his politic schemes, had lately brought about the disgrace and dismissal from England of the famous Marc Antony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro. His very curious history is given in great detail by all the writers of the annals of these times.† Marc Antony de Dominis was Archbishop of Spalatro, in Dalmatia, under the rule of Venice, and appears to have taken a leading part in the quarrel and temporary estrangement between Venice and the Court of Rome. For this reason when, through the mediation of Henry IV. of France, Venice and the Pope were reconciled, his holiness appointed a yearly pension of five hundred crowns to be paid out of the revenues of the See of Spalatro. The archbishop highly resented this, and so deeply moved was he that he applied to Sir D. Carlton, the English ambassador at Venice, to know whether he would be received into the Church of England. He was well acquainted with the doctrines and constitution of the English Church, from his intimacy with Sir Henry Wotton and William Bedell, his Story of the Archbishop of Spalatro.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 101.

† I have endeavoured to combine the accounts of Goodman, Fuller, Crakanthorp, Wilson, Hacket, and Heylin.—See also Nicholls's *Progresses of King James*, iii., 758.

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learned chaplain, during the disputes of Venice with the See of Rome. He observed, he said, many abuses and corruptions in the Church of Rome, and he desired, before all things, to live in a church reformed, but especially he had an affection for the Church of England. The ambassador acquainted King James, who "thought that the quarrel of Venice had been the effect of his own book written for the Oath of Allegiance, and, therefore, did the more approve of the bishop and desire to receive him." * It was arranged that he should come to England, and, on his arrival, be entertained at Lambeth; and all the English bishops agreed to contribute towards his maintenance. "It is incredible," says Fuller, "what flocking of people there was to behold this old archbishop now a new convert; prelates and peers presented him with gifts of high valuation." † He was a man "old and corpulent," says Wilson,‡ but of a comely presence. He was gifted with an unlimited assurance, plenty of ready talent in writing and speaking, of a "jeering temper," and of a most grasping avarice. "He was *De Dominis* in the plural," says Crakanthorp, "for he could serve two masters, or twenty if they paid him wages." § He soon began to petition for preferment. The King gave him the Deanery of Windsor and the Mastership of the Savoy, and he gave himself the

* Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 339.
† Fuller's *Church History*, x., vi., 2.
‡ *History of King James*, p. 102.
§ *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

living of West-Ilsley, in Berkshire, having made a shift to read the Thirty-nine Articles in English,* for his induction. Quickly he gave proof of his avarice, by trying to overset all the leases granted by his predecessors at the Savoy, that he might levy fresh fines. In this design, however, he was checked by Dr. King,† Bishop of London, who severely reproved him for his covetousness. The archbishop now set himself to work to perfect and publish his books, and brought out three large folios—*De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*.‡ "He exclaims," says Fuller, "'In reading, meditation, and writing, I am almost pined away,' but his fat cheeks did confute his false tongue in that expression." Being now grown confident, he ventured to indulge his jeering temper at the expense of Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. The don took deadly offence, and immediately proceeded to contrive the archbishop's ruin. Having great influence at Rome, he was easily able to induce the Pope to send the most flattering offers to the Archbishop of Spalatro if he would return. The greedy old man swallowed the bait. When he heard of the "*premium octuplicis stipendii*," § he was at once smitten with a longing desire to revisit his native

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, i., 94.

† Dr. King was a good and liberal prelate. James used to call him the king of preachers. He contributed £500 (a large sum then) to the restoration of St. Paul's.—Goodman.

‡ Among the *Tanner MSS.*, in the Bodleian, at Oxford, the original of this work still exists. It was translated into ten languages.—Howes's continuation of *Stow's Chronicle*, 914.

§ Crakanthorp.

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land, and petitioned the King to allow his departure. The King was indignant, as he justly might be, at the barefaced hypocrisy of the pretended convert. He was ordered to leave England in twenty days. At this moment, Toby Matthews, the aged Archbishop of York, set forth one of his accustomed hoaxes as to his own death.* De Dominis had the inconceivable assurance to ask for the place. He was, of course, refused with scorn. Then he started for Brussels, with his trunks full of English gold. At Brussels he was to receive his red hat of Cardinal, and his appointment to a rich bishopric, according to the Pope's promise. None of these good things, however, came. Having occupied some time in writing a railing book against the Church of England,† he was obliged to go on his way to Rome, without any safe conduct or assurance of the Pope's favour. Arrived there, he found himself an object of suspicion to the Inquisition, which soon managed to get him immured in prison, and after his death, caused his body to be burnt as that of a heretic.

* Hacket *(Life of Williams*, i., 98*)* says that the archbishop used constantly to publish this report that he might amuse himself by watching the movements of the eager crowd of suitors. His grace was very fond of a joke. When he heard that Williams was designed to be his successor, he wrote to him, telling him that he need not think of getting the place for some twenty years or so. "As the Psalmist begins, so I end, *Dixi Custodiam*. I love your lordship well, but I will keep you out of this seat as long as I can."—Hacket's *Williams*, i., 168.

† Called *Concilium Reditûs*, and principally famous as having produced one of the most vigorous and talented controversial works ever written.—Crakanthorp's *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

It was a fitting end for a rank impostor and hypocrite. The character of him, given by Dr. Fitzherbert, Rector of the English College at Rome, to Sir E. Sackville, seems not an unjust one: "He was a malcontent knave when he fled from us, a railing knave while he lived with you, and a motley parti-coloured knave now he is come again." *

* Goodman's *King James*, i., 353, note.

CHAPTER IX.

Chap. IX. 1623.

Discontent at the Prince's journey to Spain—Archbishop Abbot's letter—Prince solicited to change his religion—King's directions for the English service at Madrid—Jesuit device for preventing the appointment of a Romish bishop in England—Accident to a Romanist congregation—The Prince returns and the match is broken off—A Parliament and Convocation—General fast—Large subsidies of the clergy—Disputes begin between Calvinists and Arminians—Richard Montagu and his opponents—The *Appello Cæsarem*—The King dies—Critical state both in Church and State.

Discontent at the Prince's journey to Spain.

THE discontent in the country at the Spanish match and the toleration of Popery, which was still increasing, was now carried to a head by the sudden departure of the Prince of Wales for Spain, accompanied only by Buckingham and two attendants. Everybody thought that he would never be suffered to return again without becoming a Papist. The archbishop could no longer contain himself. He delivered his conscience in a letter to the King, the boldness and honesty of which do him credit.*

Archbishop Abbot's letter.

* This letter is given in the *Cabala*, as written by the Archbishop of York. Neither Heylin nor Hacket believe it to be

He says, "I have been too long silent, and am afraid by my silence I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me to. Your Majesty hath propounded a toleration in religion. I beseech you take into your consideration what your act is, what the consequence may be. By your act you labour to set up the most damnable and heretical doctrine of the Church of Rome..... And hereunto I add what you have done in sending the Prince into Spain, without consent of your council, the privity and approbation of your people. What dread consequence these things may draw after, I beseech your Majesty to consider, and whether they will not draw upon this kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation.....Thus, in discharge of my duty towards God, your Majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken humble leave to deliver my conscience. Now, sir, do what you please with me." * There is no doubt that in this journey to Spain the Prince was in considerable danger. He had come uninvited, and under no engagement from the Spanish king. The Spaniards were incensed, not without reason, at the cruelties practised in England against the professors of their faith, and it might well have happened that their king might have refused to allow Charles to depart without some substantial guarantees from England

Abbot's. Fuller, however, and Rushworth give it as his. Among the *Tanner MSS.* there are two copies of it, both of which attribute it to Abbot, but it is observable that it is styled in both a *speech* and not a *letter*.—*Tanner MSS.*, 73, 302, 303.

* Rushworth, i., 85.

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The Prince solicited to change his religion.

to assure the Spanish nation of a change of policy. He might even have insisted on the Prince of Wales embracing the Romish religion as a condition of departure. But persuasion and the seductive allurements of pomp and show were all that were tried to shake the faith of Charles. The Jesuits exhausted their wiles. The Pope wrote him a letter. But the Prince of Wales was firm and decided in his faith. His father had boasted of him that he was able to hold a point of controversy with the best divine of them all,* and he certainly showed great temper and judgment in his answer to the Pope's letter.† As soon as it was known that the Prince was arrived at Madrid, a splendid train of lords and gentlemen was sent over to attend on him. Among the rest, went his two chaplains, Drs. Maw and Wren, with all the requirements for a comely celebration of the worship of the Church of England. The King, who was very anxious that the Church of England should appear to the best advantage among the Spaniards,

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, vii., 440.

† This letter is important in its bearings on Charles's future policy. The following is perhaps the most important passage in it: "Sed sanctitas vestra hoc sibi persuasum habeat eam nostram esse semperque in posterum futuram moderationem, ut non solum quam longissimé a nobis suspicionem omnem removebimus, atque ab omni actu temperabimus qui aliquam præ se ferat suspicionem nos à Romanâ Catholicâ religione abhorrere, sed omnes potius captabimus occasiones, quo leni benignoque rerum processu sinistræ omnes suspiciones e medio penitus tollantur, ut sicut omnes unam et individuam Trinitatem, et unicum Christum crucifixum publice profitemur ita in unam tantummodo fidem, in ecclesiam unam unanimiter coalescamus."—Appendix to Dodd's *Church Hist.*, vol. v.

gave the chaplains a list of directions to guide them in the performance of their duties. A convenient room was to be set apart, and adorned "chapel-wise with an altar, fonts, palls, linen coverings, demy carpets, four surplices, candlesticks, tapers, chalices, patens, a fine towel for the Prince, other towels for the household, a traverse of water for the communion, a bason and flagons, and two copes." Prayers were to be said twice a day, the communion celebrated "in due form, with an oblation of every communicant, and admixing water with the wine. Smooth wafers to be used for bread. Polemical disputes were to be avoided, and solid preaching cultivated; they were to take with them numerous copies of the Articles and Prayer Book, in several languages, and "the King's own works in English and Latin." The Lord Keeper Williams had procured the translation of the English Prayer Book into Spanish, and by this means, and the open celebration of their worship, the English were able to prove to the Spaniards that they had a religion. This fact was gravely doubted in Spain, where the general opinion was that the English nation was entirely infidel, and only used holy names in blasphemies and curses.

King's directions for the English service at Madrid.

The Prince being so entirely in the power of the Spaniard, it was considered necessary to show a still increasing favour and toleration towards the English Romanists. But at this moment intelligence reached the King calculated to make him pause in his course of toleration, and even to take

Chap. IX. 1623.

Jesuit device for preventing appointment of a Romish bishop in England.

violent measures to the contrary effect. For fifteen years the secular Romish priests in England had been petitioning for a bishop, instead of the arch-priest, to preside over them; and the Jesuits had been sedulously and unceasingly plotting to thwart their plans. In the event of one of the episcopal order being settled in England, the Jesuits would be forced to pay him canonical obedience, which they were exempted from doing to the arch-priest. At length, however, in spite of their wiles, it had been decided by the Pope that a bishop should be consecrated for England. As a last resource, the Jesuits determined to give an exaggerated account of the project to King James, and by working on his fears to stir up a violent opposition to the projected arrangement. Accordingly, by the agency of Toby Matthews and a Jesuit named Gage, the Lord Keeper was informed that the Pope was about at once to send over a large number of bishops and archbishops nominated to the English sees.* Upon receiving this startling news, Williams rushed to the King, who was much excited at the intelligence, and sent the Lord Keeper post haste at midnight to the house of the Spanish Ambassador. Colonna readily understood the danger, and wrote instantly to the Duke of Albuquerque, at Rome, to stop it. Afterwards the same Jesuit who had been the informer paid the Lord Keeper a second visit, and thanked him in a "fair and facetious manner for the good office he had done to the society." "This story," says Heylin, "I heard

* Dodd's *Church History*, v., 90, 91.

from his lordship's own mouth, who seemed to be very well pleased with the handsomeness of the trick which was put upon him."* As soon, however, as the King discovered the real nature of the project, and that the intended bishop was merely to act as superior to the English Romanists in place of the arch-priest, he signified his readiness to agree to the plan; and soon after Dr. William Bishop was appointed the first episcopal superior of the Romish Church in England.† Chap. IX. 1623.

So bitter was the popular feeling against Romanists at this time, that there seems to have been a general rejoicing at a dreadful accident which befel a large congregation of them met in an upper room to hear a Jesuit preacher. The floor suddenly broke with a fearful crash. The preacher and nearly a hundred of his hearers were killed, and many more wounded.‡ Fuller notes very seasonably, that the Gospel for the next day contained the passage, "Or those eighteen upon whom the tower of Siloam fell, think ye that they were sinners above all that dwelt in Jerusalem? I tell you nay, but except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish."§ Accident to a Romanist congregation.

Buckingham, either through policy or pride, being engaged to prevent the going forward of the Spanish match, it now soon came to nothing. The Prince returned in safety in October, and was wel- The Prince returns, and the match is broken off.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 113.

† Dodd's *Church History*, v., 93. See Tierney's Note and Appendix, xxxix.

‡ See Howes's continuation of *Stow's Chronicle*, p. 935.

§ Fuller, *Church Hist.*, x., vi., 34.

Chap. IX. 1623.

comed with the greatest joy; the greater because he came without the Infanta. It was alleged by Buckingham, that the Spaniards had played false about the restoration of the Palatinate, and when the Pope's dispensation at last arrived, it was found to be clogged with impossible conditions. England was in raptures, and a Parliament being summoned to meet in the winter, they came ready to support, at any cost, war with the hated Spaniard, and the recovery of the Palatinate for the Protestant champion, Frederick. At the meeting of this Parliament, we have a great proof of the increasing prevalence of Puritanical principles. The members petitioned the King to order a general fast to inaugurate their opening, and the King seeing that this was very decidedly their wish, was obliged to grant it. On former occasions a similar request, emanating, probably, from a small minority, had been rejected, and they had been told that there was a weekly fast already appointed. The bishops, unfortunately, appeared as the opponents of this request, as also of some restraints proposed for the Lord's Day, and thus were easily represented to the country by the Puritanical party as the champions of pride and irreligion.* Having opened the session in this fashion, they proceeded to vote large subsidies for carrying on the war, fettering, however, their grants with the conditions which they considered necessary to prevent the King laying hands upon them for his own purposes. The Clergy, in their Convocation, dealt with him "more

A Parliament and Convocation.

General fast.

Large subsidies of the Clergy.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 118.

nobly," says Heylin, "because it came into his own coffers, and without conditions." They granted to him four entire subsidies, at the rate of four shillings in the pound, taking the valuation in the King's books as the basis of the assessment. This large grant must have fallen very heavily on some of the poor incumbents, and Heylin tells us that he knew some vicarages not worth above £80 per ann., which were charged higher than the best gentlemen in the parish, whose yearly revenues amounted to many hundreds.* The King, however, not satisfied with this, still cast about for means to replenish his exchequer, and seems to have seriously meditated taking possession of Sutton's magnificent endowment of the Charter-house, for state purposes. This he had attempted ten years before, but had been foiled by the stout honesty of Sir Edward Coke. The second attempt also came to nothing, from the opposition of Laud,† or from the fear of the general reprobation which would fall on so great a scandal.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 119. "I, myself, have heard King James say that the clergy pay enough in conscience; but for the laymen, sometimes a man of one thousand pounds per annum, pays but forty shillings subsidy, and what is that?"—Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 329.

† We have Laud's opinion given formally on this matter, and deciding strongly against it. Printed from *Lambeth MSS.* in Laud's Works, vol. vi., i., i.

The King was often tempted with these alluring baits. Lord Treasurer Cranfield brought him a project for raising the value of livings in the King's books to their then value, which would have vastly increased the tenths payable to the crown. Buckingham was tempted by Dr. Preston, his Puritan chaplain, to get his Majesty to confiscate the property of Deans and Chapters. But both James and Charles were faithful to the temporal interests of the Church.

Chap. IX. 1624. Disputes begin between Calvinists and Arminians.

Meantime, the Calvinistic divines were far from being silenced by the injunctions issued two years before. They eagerly strove to represent their views as the voice of the English Church. They laboured to prove that the decrees of the synod of Dort were binding upon the Church of this nation, as English representatives had taken a part in it, and assented to its conclusions. Proud of the victory which their cause had there achieved, they were not disposed to quit the vantage ground which they thought they had reached without a struggle. Against those who held broader and more reasonable views they launched the opprobrious names of Papists and Arminians. "Every moderate man," says Montagu, "is bedaubed with these goodly habiliments, Arminianism, Popery, and what not."* In spite, however, of their clamours, the school which took Catholic views in theology, and rested its teaching on the earlier fathers, was day by day gaining ground. The King had decidedly changed his views, and was become Arminian. Abbot was now never to be seen at court, and Montagu (Bishop of Winchester) was dead. These two were supposed to have been the chief upholders, among the prelates, of Calvin's theology. In their place, Laud was in high favour at court, and his whole set of opinions was cast in a different mould. Dr. Houson, once censured by Abbot at Oxford for Arminian doctrine, was Bishop of Oxford, and exercising an influence upon the University. At Cambridge, Richardson, Master of Trinity, and

* Montagu's *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 109.

Tompson, a Dutchman by extraction, were in high repute as the teachers of Anti-Calvinian views. The reaction against the tyranny of Geneva was gradually working its way through the land, but not without violent struggles and resistance on the part of the Supra-lapsarians and teachers of the doctrine of irresistible grace.

Richard Montagu and his opponents.

It wanted but a small occasion to set the whole Church in commotion on the subject of the five articles of Arminius, and this occasion was speedily found. In the village of Stamford-Rivers, in Essex, certain proselytizing Jesuits had established a station, which they frequented for the purpose of carrying on their machinations in the neighbourhood. The rector of this parish was Richard Montagu, Prebendary of Windsor, and Fellow of Eton, a man of great learning and varied acquirements; of a sharp and biting wit; and a fearless, straightforward courage. He had already signalized himself against the great Selden, and was thought (at least by the Churchmen) to have beaten that learned man at his own weapons. Finding the Jesuits busy in his parish, he had left in one of the houses certain propositions written down, together with an offer that if they could convince him on any one of them he would become a convert. They replied by sending him a pamphlet with the quaint title, *A Gag for the New Gospel*. This Montagu at once proceeded to demolish by a crushing answer, entitled, in the same vein, *A New Gag for an Old Goose*. In his answer he shows clearly enough that many of the doctrines against which the Romish

Chap. IX. 1624.

writer directed his attacks, were not doctrines of the Church of England, but mere private fancies of some Puritanical writers. These he discards somewhat contemptuously. This tract, by a writer so able and so well known as Montagu, caused a great commotion among the Puritanical party. Mr. Yates and Mr. Ward, two lecturers at Ipswich, drew out of his book a certain number of propositions which, they maintained, favoured Arminianism and Popery, and prepared these for presentation to the Parliament which was about to meet. Montagu, on getting information of their intentions, and understanding the little favour he would be likely to experience from the Parliament, went at once to the King, and received the promise of his protection. When the complaint was brought into Parliament, it was referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot expressed his dislike of the book, and gave the author a solemn admonition. The Bishops of Oxford, Rochester, and St. David's, however, encouraged Montagu to reassert his opinions, and defend them in another treatise dedicated to the King.* The book called *Appello Cæsarem* was the fruit of this recommendation. In it he examines *seriatim* the points objected to by the informers, and defends them with much spirit and learning. The propositions which they had selected were in some cases garbled and tampered with, so as to represent his meaning very unfairly. Other things were charged against him as heresies which were *totidem verbis* the teaching of the

The *Appello Cæsarem.*

* Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

Church. This he exposes with great spirit and power. The synod of Dort and its decrees, he repudiates. "I have nothing at all to do with their conclusions further than they do consent and agree to and with the conclusions and determinations of that synod of London, which established the doctrine of our Church."* He does not spare irony and ridicule against his opponents. "The most ordinary theme of their preaching is touching that most comfortable doctrine of election and reprobation."† Yet it must be allowed that some of his views are of the Romanist cast. For instance, on the subject of Justification, he approaches more nearly to the Catechism of Trent than to the English Articles. He has a fanciful conceit about using the sign of the cross; he speaks of *Transelementation* taking place in the Eucharist; and that the priest has not only authority to pronounce, but to *give*, remission of sins. "Mr. Montagu's tart and vehement assertions," says Bishop Hall, "gave occasion for no small broil in the Church. Sides were taken; pulpits everywhere rang of these opinions."‡

Chap. IX. 1625.

But the history of the Quinquarticular Controversy belongs properly to the next reign. Before the book, which his advice had occasioned, was ready for publication, King James was dead. He died at Theobald's, on Sunday, March 27, of a tertian ague.§ At his death he left everything in

The King dies.

* *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 70. † *Ibid*, p. 39.

‡ Bishop Hall's *Autobiography*.

§ Bishop Goodman thinks that King James hastened his end as King John is said to have done by his fondness for fruit. "I

Chap. IX. 1625.

Critical state both in Church and State.

extreme confusion. There was war abroad, and discontent at home. The State was weak and impoverished; the church was full of the elements of internecine strife. By the frequent and rude rebuffs administered to the popular leaders, by the inconsiderate and angry dissolution of so many Parliaments, and the illegal and unpopular expedients to which the King was forced for raising money, the hearts of his subjects had been estranged from him and brought into the temper of hostile and decided opposition.* The long negociations for the Spanish match, in direct defiance of the wish of the nation, had aggravated and embittered this hostility. Men began to think that the liberty to which they were entitled was unattainable under his rule. He scoffed at Parliamentary privileges, and asserted that his prerogative was above all law; and at the same time that he recklessly strove to repress all aspirations for civil liberty, he assailed also, by means of the Court of High Commission, all religious opinions which were not in conformity with the prescribed pattern. Thus, with the bond of a common persecution, the patriot and the Puritan were drawn together, and hence came that unnatural union which produced such disastrous

remember," says he, "that Mr. French, of the Spicery, who sometimes did present him with strawberries, cherries, and other fruits, and, kneeling to the King, had some complimental speech to use to him, but the King never had the patience to hear him one word, but his hand was in the basket."—Goodman's *Court of King James*, i., 409.

* *Vide* Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i., 370; Guizot's *History of the English Revolution*, b. i.

consequences in the next reign. The light and thoughtless courtiers had already began to talk jestingly of *State Puritans* as well as Church Puritans, little thinking what a portentous power these words represented. The sour and pharisaical views of the Puritans had, by the King's injudicious administration, been forced into popularity, instead of being overwhelmed with ridicule, and some of the truest and largest hearts in the country looked upon the men who scrupled at a ceremony and bent the knee to Calvin, as brethren. The Church associated with the State shared in the unpopularity of Government, and it had also other causes of unpopularity of its own. The bishops, for the most part, passed their time in hanging about Court looking out for preferment, instead of working earnestly among their clergy.* The constant translations which made patronage more abundant, prevented the prelate from knowing anything of a diocese which perhaps he only occupied for a year, and made those who were allowed to remain in the poorer dioceses discontented and impatient. Men were advanced to the highest posts in the Church at the word of a favourite, through an excess of servile adulation, or from a controversial thesis cleverly argued. With the exception of Bishops Andrewes and Morton, there were no men of conspicuous merit among the prelates of King James. Some of them were men in every way contemptible. If we are to believe even a very small part of the

* See the injunctions issued at the beginning of the next reign.

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libels freely vented a few years later, many of the country clergy were not only ignorant, but immoral.* These charges were levelled both at the High Church and the Puritanical party. The poverty in which they lived lowered and degraded the county parsons and drove them to the alehouse for amusement and society. Many were, doubtless, bright examples of the noblest virtues. Such was Mr. Copinger, parson of Laleham, mentioned by Fuller. "He lived forty and five years the painful parson of Laleham, in which market-town were above nine hundred communicants, amongst whom all his time no difference did arise, which he did not compound."† Such was good Joseph Hall, in his poor parsonage of Halsted, and such were a thousand others. But the poor and mean estate of many, and the prevalence of scandals, while Court divines added one good benefice to another, and bishops held rich livings by *commendams*, must have given the Puritan declaimer a vast advantage.

Whatever good qualities King James possessed must be sought for in his private life, and not in his character as ruler either in Church or State. He was certainly kind and liberal, and appears to have conciliated the affection of those who were near him. He had read considerably,‡ and was master of a pure Latin style, and some power of eloquence. But though a scholar and a theologian, his talk was

* Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 5.
† Fuller, *Church History*, x., vi., 27.
‡ See Sir J. Harinton's account, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i., 366.

full of scurrilous jests, and obscene and, sometimes, blasphemous words. Hallam estimates his Court as the most immoral of any in our history. Mrs. Hutchinson says, "The court of this King was a nursery of lust and intemperance. The generality of the gentry of the land soon learnt the Court fashion, and every great house in the country became a sty of uncleanness."* This, doubtless, is a gross exaggeration; but the state of morals among the country gentlemen, and their wives and daughters, who would insist on living in the town, is also denounced by Wilson, a contemporary writer, and in numerous proclamations. The same writer tells us, that the streets of London "swarmed day and night with bloody quarrels, many discontents nourished in the country betwixt the gentry and commonalty about inclosures, growing in some places to a small rebellion."†

Yet the country was making rapid strides in internal prosperity, and was at the death of James immensely richer than at that of Elizabeth. This increase in wealth increased the sturdiness and self-reliance of the members of Parliament, and those who had bent with abject submission before the Queen, firmly and even scornfully resisted her successor. We come, then, to the history of the Church in the next reign, with all the elements ready prepared for a serious and irreconcilable difference between the Government and the people.

* *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, i., 118; so, also, Sir. J. Harinton's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i., 348.

† Wilson's *History of King James*, p. 28; see Howes's *Chronicle*, p. 890.

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The man of all others most likely to ruin the Church in the affections of the nation is at the right hand of the King, and in the highest favour. Laud was the favourite of Buckingham, and Buckingham was all-powerful with the new King. We may admire Laud for his consistency, zeal, and firmness, but probably most persons will admit that he was narrow-minded, impolitic, and imprudent; a stickler for ceremonial and externals at a time of all others most inopportune, and when the nation was in a temper which disposed it to magnify trivial requirements into Popery and persecution. He may have been an upright, but he certainly was not an able man, and there was great need of an able man at the head of the Church of England at this moment. A union of the policy and talent of Williams with the learning and character of Andrewes might have saved much of the troubles which were already darkly looming in the distance. But this was not to be. A policy of repression, coercion, and menace was to be tried to the utmost both in Church and State, and its signal and terrible failure to remain a sad warning for all time.

The religious opinions of King James had been extremely variable. "One while," says Neal, "he was a Puritan, and then a zealous Churchman; at first a Calvinist and Presbyterian, afterwards a remonstrant and an Arminian; at last a half, if not an entire, doctrinal Papist." * This last assertion is decidedly untrue. King James, as all accounts agree, received the Eucharist with great devotion

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 130.

four days before his death, and solemnly professed that he had altered nothing of the opinions which he had written in his books.* Nevertheless, on some points his views had been extremely shifting, and he censured and punished at one period of his reign what he commended and rewarded at another. This was especially the case with regard to the doctrines of Election and Grace; and the King, who had been a partisan of Calvin at the Synod of Dort, died, in all probability, a disciple of Arminius. But the religious opinions of the King were all controversial and antagonistic, he did not take an earnest, practical view of the faith which he professed; and this unfortunate want of earnestness in the temporal Head of the Church encouraged and

* Collier, *Church History*, vii., 455. "The King made most humble confession of sins, craved absolution, rendered the Confession of Faith before many witnesses, professed he died in the bosom of the Church of England, whose doctrine he had defended with his pen, being persuaded it was according to the mind of Christ, as he should shortly answer it before him."—Hacket's *Williams*, i., 223. The following interesting account was written by Sir William Paddy, the King's physician: "Being sent for to Theobald's, but a day before the death of my sovereign lord and master, King James, I held it my duty to prepare him, telling him that there was nothing left for me to do but to pray for his soul. Whereupon the Archbishop and the Lord Keeper, Bishop of Lincoln, demanded if his Majesty would be pleased that they should pray with him. Whereunto he cheerfully accorded; and after a short prayer, these sentences were by the Bishop of Lincoln distinctly pronounced unto him, who, with his eyes, the messengers of his heart, lifted up to Heaven, at the end of every sentence, gave to us all thereby a godly assurance of those graces and lively faith, wherewith he apprehended the merit of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, accordingly as in his godly life he had often publicly professed."—*Tanner MSS.*, 73, 527.

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promoted a cold and worldly temper in the divines who looked to him for advancement. It is remarked by Neal, that, with the exception of Bishop Andrewes, almost all the *practical* writers of this reign were Puritans and sufferers for non-conformity. Such were Willet, Dyke, Preston, Sibbs, Byfield, Bolton, Hildersham, and others.* This fact must needs have told with extreme force against the interests of the Church. It was, doubtless, alleged that the Church divines could only speak when their position or their order was menaced, but in the face of the great and crying sins and scandals of the age, they were dumb and tongue-tied.

There had thus occurred during the reign of James much to strengthen the hands of the Puritan party, and we must look upon them as occupying a very different position now from that which they held at the beginning of the century. They were now accepted as allies by those who sought for civil liberty; † the courtly bishops, over-beneficed dignitaries, and ignorant country parsons, presented a fairer mark for their attack, and there was no longer a community of doctrine between them and the High Church party. The school of Whitgift had passed away, and given place to the sharp anti-Calvinist doctrine of Laud and Montagu. It was evident that the battle was to be fought, and scarce doubtful that the winners would be those who had the nation at their back.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 128. † Heylin's *Land*, 129.

CHAPTER X.

Chap. X. 1625.

Charles I. proclaimed King—His character—Negotiations about his marriage—Concessions to Romanists—Funeral of James and sermon of Bishop Williams—Laud at the King's direction distinguishes the principal divines into two parties—Parliament meets—Mr. Montagu called to appear—Parliament adjourns to Oxford—Petitions the King in matters of religion—His answer—Parliament dissolved—Project for discussing the five articles in Convocation—Laud, Clerk of the Closet—Fall of Lord Keeper Williams—Recusants prosecuted—The Coronation—Second Parliament meets—Mr. Montagu again attacked—Answers to his book—Conference at York House—King's proclamation—Parliament furious against Romanists—Bishop Goodman's sermon—Parliament dissolved—Death and character of Bishop Andrewes—"Tuning the pulpits"—Laud, Dean of the Chapel—Reforms there—Dr. Sibthorp's sermon—Archbishop Abbot's narrative of his suspension—Dr. Wren's sermon—Dr. Mainwaring's two sermons—Bishop Williams and the Puritans—Eager seeking of preferment—Dr. Hall's promotion—Promotion of Mountain, Neile, and Laud—Dispute about the table being set altar-wise begins at Grantham.

IT was mid-Lent Sunday, and the Court sermon at Whitehall (according to the ancient custom) was in the afternoon. The lords of the council, the officers of the household, and a great concourse of people, were assembled to hear it. Dr. Laud,

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Bishop of St. David's, was just ascending the pulpit, when an unwonted stir in the congregation, a whispering, and a passing in and out, attracted his attention. He began his discourse, but before he had proceeded far, the preacher, as well as the congregation, learnt that King James was dead. Moved by the "dolorous complaints of the Duke of Buckingham," the bishop broke off his discourse and descended from the pulpit. Having administered what consolation he could to the bereaved favourite, the congregation dispersed, eager to gather more news. Meantime, Prince Charles was solemnly proclaimed King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, at the Court-gates, by Sir Edward Zouch, Knight-Marshal.* "Charles," says M. Guizot, "was a prince of grave and pure conduct, of acknowledged piety; diligent, learned, frugal, reserved without moroseness, dignified without arrogance. His manners and deportment awed his courtiers, and pleased his people; his virtues had gained him the esteem of all good men. Weary of the mean ways, the talkative and familiar pedantry, the inert and pusillanimous policy of James, England promised herself happiness and liberty under a king whom she could respect."† He had (to quote another philosophical historian) "much

Charles I. proclaimed King.

His character.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 132.

† Guizot, *English Revolution*, b. i. "The face of the Court," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "was much changed in the change of the King; for King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious.....but this king was a worse encroacher on the civil and religious liberties of his people by far than his father."—*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, i., 127.

in his character very suitable to the times in which he lived, and to the spirit of the people he was to rule; a stern and serious deportment, a disinclination to all licentiousness, and a sense of religion that seemed more real than in his father." * Yet with all this there was one capital defect. "Our sovereign had not the art to please," says Bishop Hacket.† Even in doing a gracious act he did it ungraciously, and often managed to wound and irritate when he desired to soothe and conciliate. In personal character infinitely above his father, as a king he was even inferior to him, more calculated to exasperate and embitter his subjects, and drive them into the wild excesses of open rebellion. Chap. X. 1625.

As soon as the Spanish match had been broken off, negotiations had been at once entered into for the hand of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France. At Christmas, the French ambassadors were in England, treating on the preliminaries. The Dean of Westminster (Lord Keeper Williams) entertained them in his noble abbey with a concert of sacred music, the first organist of the day, Orlando Gibbons, presiding at the organ; and then feasted them splendidly in the Jerusalem Chamber.‡ The great difficulty in adjusting the preliminaries of the match, was the amount of toleration to be allowed to the English Roman Catholics. It was not scrupled to promise to the French Princess the same religious privileges as had been agreed upon for the Infanta of Spain. Negotiations about his marriage.

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 368. † *Life of Williams*, ii., 8.
‡ Hacket's *Williams*, i., 210.

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She was to be allowed a chapel wherever she resided, twenty-eight priests to officiate, and a bishop to preside over them, and act as her almoner. She was free to indulge to the utmost in all the Roman ceremonial, and to celebrate "all jubilees and indulgences which Madame shall procure from Rome."* Even a greater privilege was given to the French, than had been allowed to the Spanish Princess. She was to retain in her hands the education of her children, not only to ten, but even to thirteen years of age. But the great difficulty was with the English Catholics. They were clamorous for full toleration, and complete liberty of conscience. They repeatedly complained to the French King, and compelled him to take their cause in hand, without which the Pope's dispensation would have been withheld.† They would have much preferred the Spanish match,‡ that family being more entirely devoted to the interest of the Church; but in any case if their King was to marry a Catholic princess, they were determined to claim toleration. To negotiate this, the French King despatched the Archbishop of Ambrun, who came to London in disguise, and passed for a counsellor of the Parliament of Grenoble.§ He had many conferences with King James, and found him quite disposed to the toleration, but the Parliament and the nation were determined against it. The King treated the Archbishop with great courtesy, and suffered him to administer confirmation at the

* Rushworth, i., 168.
† Dodd's *Ch. History*, v., 157.
‡ *Cabala*, p. 225.
§ Rapin, 8, 287.

French ambassador's house, where, according to his own statement, he confirmed as many as ten thousand persons.* The difficult matter of the amount of favour to be shown to the English Romanists, appears to have been settled at last, by three secret articles appended to those which were made public. (1.) That the Catholics, as well ecclesiastic as lay, imprisoned since the last proclamation which followed the breach with Spain, should all be set at liberty. (2.) That the English Catholics should be no more searched after, nor molested for their religion. (3.) That the goods of those who had been seized should be restored to them.† Upon these conditions a dispensation had been obtained from the Pope, and matters were now in a state of readiness for the match, when it was interrupted by the death of King James.

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The body of the King was removed from Theobald's to Denmark House, "where a royal and magnificent hearse was erected for it, visited and resorted to by infinite multitudes of people, for weeks together."‡ From Denmark House his body was carried in great state to Westminster Abbey, where it was solemnly interred on Saturday, May 7. The Lord Keeper, Williams, preached the

Funeral of King James. Sermon of Bishop Williams.

* Rapin, 8, 287; Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 126.

† Rushworth, i., 169; Rapin, 8, 314; Dodd's *Ch. Hist.*, v., 156. Mr. Tierney (Notes to Dodd) contends that these were not articles signed by the King, but instructions given to the judges, and that the story of the three secret articles was copied by Prynne, from the *Mercure François*. There is considerable obscurity in the negotiation. Another difficulty appears to have arisen after this, about toleration.—Dodd, v., 157.

‡ Heylin's *Laud*, 132.

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sermon, which was an elaborate comparison of the departed monarch to Solomon. After going through all the excellencies of the Jewish king, and showing how James rivalled him in each one, he took care to add, says Fuller, "that Solomon's vices could be no blemish to King James, who resembled him only in his choicest virtues."* But the fulsome adulation by which the preacher disgraced his sacred office, brought him no reward. In the course of his sermon he enlarged frequently on the late King's eloquence, saying that it was a gift most necessary for a King, and that no man ever got great power without it. Many of the audience observed King Charles give sundry marks of impatience as this topic was dwelt upon. The new King suffered from an impediment in his speech, and was no orator, and could not but apply to himself the preacher's words.† Perhaps the disgrace of the Lord Keeper, which speedily followed, may have been somewhat hastened by this affront, unintentional though it doubtless was on the part of the preacher.

The new King was of a very different temper in religious matters from his father. James had been vacillating and variable, contentious alternately against opposite views; Charles was firm, decided, and fixed. He had adopted the system of Laud and Montagu, the system which regarded the Romish Church with respect, and endeavoured to cull out all ancient truth from its corrupted modern teaching; the system which, relying on the author-

* Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., i., 3. † *Ib.*, xi., i., 4.

Laud, at the King's direction, distinguishes the principal divines into two parties.

ity of the Pre-Augustine Fathers, discarded the modern dogmatism of the Calvinists. He had no idea of being surrounded, as his father had been, with divines of various schools of theology. He would have all of one pattern, the one approved by himself. With a view to guide him in this matter, Bishop Laud was directed to draw up a list of the most eminent ecclesiastics in the country, with the letters O and P affixed to their names, according as they were presumed or known to be Orthodox or Puritanically inclined.* These letters would also doubtless indicate pretty accurately the divines acceptable to the Court, and those who would be favoured by the Parliament. This latter body met on June 28, and having been briefly addressed by the King, proceeded to business. Immediately, as usual, they turned to the subject of religion, and petitioned against the Papists. To the petition, presented by both Houses, the King returned a gracious answer.† He was playing, however, a delicate and difficult game. At the beginning of May, in anticipation of his marriage with the French Princess, a warrant had been issued under the great seal to the judges and justices of the peace, to stop all proceedings against Roman Catholics, on the score of their religion.‡ This was a matter likely to be highly resented by the Commons, and either from fear or policy, the

* Heylin's *Laud*, 133; Rushworth, i., 167.

† Rushworth, i., 173.

‡ Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 7. The same had been done in the December preceding, by King James. See Appendix to Dodd, vol. v.

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Mr. Montagu called to appear.

warrant was cancelled in the November following. But the Commons were not satisfied with petitioning, they proceeded to act. Mr. Richard Montagu, whose alleged offence had been aggravated by his bold publication of the *Appello Cæsarem*, was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons. The Archbishop had disallowed his book, and endeavoured to suppress it, but the Bishops of Oxford, Rochester, and St. David's, had encouraged him to persevere, and the book was stamped by the approval of Dr. Francis White, the well-known champion against the Romanists.* The House appointed a committee to examine the errors of the *Appello Cæsarem*, and thanked the Archbishop for his former admonition to the author, whose books they voted to be contrary to the established articles, to tend to the King's dishonour, and to the disturbance of Church and State. For this they assigned him a time of answer, and took bond for his appearance under the penalty of £2,000. The King, however, now interfered, and informed the Commons that "what had been spoken in their House, and informed against Mr. Montagu, was displeasing to him. He hoped one of his chaplains might have as much protection as the servant of an ordinary burgess."†

On June 23, the King had received his young

* Rushworth says the bishops acted with great subtlety. They first signed their approval of the *Appello Cæsarem;* then having procured the signature of Dr. White, they withdrew theirs, and Dr. White, to his amazement, found himself standing alone—i., 173. The story appears very doubtful.

† Rushworth, i., 174; Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii.

French bride at Canterbury, and, three days after, conveyed her in great state to London. That city was now again suffering from the plague, as it had been when his royal father had passed through it to his coronation, and the pomp and pageants were therefore curtailed. This present pestilence, indeed, was far greater than that which had prevailed at the coming of King James,* and was probably only exceeded in terror by the Great Plague in the time of Charles II.. Out of fear of infection, the courts of law were removed to Reading, the Exchequer to Richmond, and the Court and Parliament to Oxford. Here Parliament met early in August. They occupied the Divinity School and the Convocation House, and the Convocation of the Clergy sat in Merton Chapel.† The three bishops, who were friends to Montagu, had written to the Duke of Buckingham to solicit his influence in defending him, declaring, in their letter, that the opinions for which Mr. Montagu was troubled, are, "some of them, such as are expressly the resolved doctrine of the Church of England; some of them such as are fit only for schools, and to be

Parliament adjourns to Oxford.

* Rushworth, i., 171. "In the month of July began the observation and weekly celebration of a public fast and humiliation in respect of the extreme increasing of the pestilence. It was continued each Wednesday till the end of October, generally throughout England. There died in London of the pestilence, from August 11 to August 18, 4,463, which was the greatest number that died in any one week this year."—Sir Simons D'Ewes's *Journal.* The thanksgiving for the abatement of the plague, according to a form prepared by the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other bishops, was celebrated on Sunday, January 29, in London, and on February 19 throughout the kingdom.

† Fuller, *Church History*, xi., i., 12.

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left at more liberty, and to make any man subscribe to school opinions, may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ. They claim for religious disputes the judgment of Convocation, and deny the right of Parliament to interfere; they commend Mr. Montagu as a very good scholar, and a very honest man, and they humbly submit all to his Grace's judgment.* It is very doubtful whether Buckingham's patronage could have done Mr. Montagu much service, as he himself was now openly aimed at by the Parliament. In fact, Montagu's interest in high places only exasperated the Commons more against him, and he would doubtless have been punished had not the Oxford Parliament been so suddenly dissolved. The Commons were in a very bad temper, having found that at the very time the King was assuring them, in answer to their petition, that he would uphold true religion, he had been issuing pardons to Jesuits and Papists.† They now, therefore, approached him in a more peremptory fashion, denouncing the dangers to Church and State from Popery, the great increase of Papists, through want of the proper execution of the laws, and other causes. They declare that the remedy is to be found in the more careful education of youth, and for this purpose they desire that the schoolmasters may be diligently looked after by the ordinaries; in restoring the ancient discipline of the Universities; in the preaching of the Word of God; and for this they desire that the bishops may be directed to

Petitions the King on matters of religion.

* Cobbett's *State Trials*, vol. ii. † Rushworth, i., 181.

bring back, if possible, into conformity, the silenced Ministers, and that non-residing, pluralities, and *commendams* may be abolished. "Where we cannot forbear most humbly to thank your Majesty for diminishing the number of your own chaplains, not doubting of the like princely care for the well-bestowing of the rest of your benefices, both to the comfort of the people and encouragement of the Universities, being full of grave and able ministers unfurnished of livings." Again, in not allowing English children to be taken to the seminaries beyond sea; in taking care that no Popish recusant be permitted to come within the court; in causing all laws made against Jesuits and seminary priests be enforced; and that no strange bishop be allowed to give orders; and, generally, in enforcing all prohibitions and penalties which had at any time been devised against Papists. The King's answer to this petition was such as to gratify the petitioners, if they had not already begun to be distrustful of him.* But this feeling was already prevalent. They soon showed themselves more ready to discuss grievances and to assault the Duke of Buckingham than dutifully to grant supplies and approve of all the proceedings of the Government. Accordingly, the King, under pretence of a tender regard for their health in this sickly time, dissolved the Parliament.

His answer.

Parliament dissolved.

The Convocations of Canterbury and York met concurrently with this Parliament, but did nothing beyond granting subsidies. There had indeed been

* Rapin, viii., 348. Neal.

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Project for discussing five Articles in Convocation.

a project in contemplation by the anti-Calvinian party for getting the *five Articles* pronounced upon by the Convocation.* Laud had been directed to consult Bishop Andrewes on the subject, and to ascertain his opinion as to whether it would be safe to attempt it. The learned and prudent Bishop of Winchester gave his advice against the attempt. He said that the truth in this point was not so generally entertained among the clergy, nor was Archbishop Abbot, nor many of the prelates so inclined to it, as to make it safe to venture to decide it by Convocation. Indeed, it is further asserted by Neal, that at this time the majority of the lower House were zealous Calvinists, and that forty-four of them had made a covenant among themselves to oppose everything that tended towards Pelagianism or semi-Pelagianism.† That thus early in the reign Laud's influence should be paramount with the King in church matters, is to be attributed partly to his connection with Buckingham, and partly also to the fact that Neile, Bishop of Durham, being at this time in ill health, had prevailed on the King to allow his place as Clerk of the Closet to be occupied temporarily by his friend and *protégé* Laud, who had thus become,

Laud Clerk of the Closet.

* "In 1625, a Parliament being called, wherein I was chosen one of the clerks of the Convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, there was some expectation that those Arminian points, the only questions almost in agitation at the time, should have been debated by the clergy in the Convocation. Which occasioned me, as it did several others, to inform myself by study and conference in the state of these controversies."—Bishop Sanderson, quoted in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 417.

† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 137.

"as it were, his Majesty's Secretary for all Church concernments."* The Bishop of St. David's had gone to his Welsh diocese to hold his visitation, and consecrate his new chapel at Aberguily, when the storm, which had been long preparing, at last burst on the head of his great rival Williams. At the beginning of October, the Episcopal Lord Keeper was definitively summoned to give up the Great Seal, which was at once intrusted to Sir Thomas Coventry, the Attorney-General.† Williams fell from power with decency, and, if his biographer says truly, the King parted from him with expressions of respect and regret. He was allowed to retain his numerous preferments, and retired to Buckden, to occupy himself with building and gardening, and superintending the affairs of his vast diocese. His last letter to the King before his departure from Court, pleaded the cause of the poor clergy. "Being careful for nothing but that his poor brethren might not be trampled on over his back, especially those that served in country cures, among bad paymasters, and narrow-hearted, contentious chuffs.‡

Fall of Lord Keeper Williams.

The promise which had been given to the Oxford Parliament to proceed vigorously against the Pa-

Recusants prosecuted.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 140.

† The immediate cause of Williams's fall was at the time of the Oxford Parliament. "The bishop," says Rushworth, "told the duke in Christ Church, upon the duke's rebuking him for siding against him, that he was engaged with William Earl of Pembroke to labour the redress of the people's grievances, and was resolved to stand on his own legs. 'If that be the case,' said the duke, look you stand firm;' and so they parted."—Rushworth, i., 198.

‡ Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 28.

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pists, must now in some manner or other be redeemed, awkwardly inconsistent though its redemption might prove with previous acts and declarations. The war with Spain, however, was now raging; a new Parliament must soon meet. The nation was exasperated and humiliated by the unsuccessful result of the expedition to Cadiz; it was said that the English Papists were preparing to take part with the enemies of their country, and currently reported that the Spaniards were about to attempt a landing in Essex. The reversal of policy therefore towards those who sympathised in religion with the hated Spaniard, was made easier and more defensible. The archbishops were directed to instruct their suffragans to proceed by excommunication and otherwise against all recusants in their dioceses. They were also enjoined, though in vague and guarded language, to proceed against Puritanical Nonconformists, who, it is said, "by secret and underhand sleights and means do much encourage and increase the growth of Popery and superstition in sundry parts of this kingdom."* It may have been the vagueness of the expressions employed with respect to the Puritans, which induced Archbishop Abbot to believe that he might safely omit all mention of them altogether in forwarding his commands to his suffragans. They received, consequently, only a direction to prosecute recusants, "the Nonconformist part of the edict having been filtered out in passing through Canterbury."†

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 140; Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 156.

† Heylin, p. 141. "His Majesty doth expect that to show

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The Coronation.

The important ceremony of the Coronation was now drawing near, and Laud and others were appointed a committee for considering and arranging the service and ceremonial. Some alterations and additions were determined upon in the ceremony and prayers. The unction was to be made in the form of a cross. An old prayer, not used since the time of Henry VI., was to be revived, and a request was to be made to the King on behalf of the clergy. The prayer and request were as follows: "Let him obtain favour for the people like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the temple; give him Peter's key of discipline and Paul's doctrine." "This," says Collier, "sounds extremely high for the regale, and might serve very well at the consecration of a patriarch." * The request followed. "Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place to which you have been made heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops, servants of God; and as you see the clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour; that the mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne to be the mediator between the clergy and laity, that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the

your diligence and zeal therein, your lordship will soon after Easter return unto me the list and number of all *recusant Papists* within your diocese."—Abbot to bishops of his province, *Doc. Annals*, ii., 158.

* Collier, viii., 7.

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King of kings and Lord of lords." We cannot wonder at Collier's comment on this extraordinary address. "In the request made to him these prelates were thought to remember their character too far, and to take *too much upon them*." * The audacity of the sentiment is hardly excused by its absurdity. Solemnly to tell the young King, in the face of the nation, that he was put in the kingly throne to be the mediator between the clergy and laity! † Surely no amount of ancient custom could justify this.

Having settled the preliminaries of the ceremonial, the next important point to be arranged regarded the persons to perform it. The abbots of Westminster had always taken a principal share in the celebration of the solemnities. They had been succeeded in their privileges by the deans. These dignitaries had the custody of the old regalia: the crown, the sword, the sceptre, the spurs of King Edward the Confessor; which royal curiosities were never used except at a coronation or a solemn procession to Parliament. But Williams was Dean of Westminster, and Williams was now in disgrace, and under the ban of the Duke of Buckingham. He was ordered to depute one of the prebendaries to officiate in his place. The meaning of this order, doubtless, was that he was to appoint Laud, who held the preferment of Prebendary of Westminster.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 7.

† This passage was read to the King after he had been conducted to the throne or chair of state, and before the nobility took oath of homage.—Rushworth, i., 201.

The Dean, however, jealous of his powerful subordinate, would not nominate him, but handed to the King a list of the prebendaries, with a request that he would appoint according to his pleasure. Of course, Laud was immediately chosen, and thus took the principal part in the celebration of the solemnity.* The King entered the Abbey supported between two bishops, Neile and Lake. He was met at the door by the prebendaries of Westminster, with Laud as dean, in their rich copes, who delivered into his hands the Staff of Edward the Confessor, and escorted his Majesty up the nave. From the choir to the altar a stage had been built, furnished with three sumptuous chairs—the chair of repose, of coronation, and of state. The first of these was occupied by his Majesty at his first entrance. Having been solemnly presented by Archbishop Abbot to the Commons, and their consent given by acclamation, the service proceeded. The sermon came first. This was preached by Dr. Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, upon the text, "I will give unto thee a crown of life.' "In some sort," says Fuller, "it may be said that he preached his own funeral sermon, dying shortly after; and even then the black jaundice had so possessed him, that all despaired of his recovery." † The invalid bishop having finished his discourse, Archbishop Abbot, vested in a rich cope, tendered to the King, on his knees before the altar, the oath:

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 9; Fuller, xi., i., 17.

† Fuller, *Church Hist.*, xi., i., 18.

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Archbishop.—Sir, will you grant, keep, and by your oath confirm, to your people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors; and namely, the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the clergy by the glorious king, St. Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this land?

King.—I grant and promise to keep them.

Archbishop.—Sir, will you keep peace and godly agreement entirely (according to your power) both to God, the Holy Church, the clergy, and the people?

King.—I will keep it.

Archbishop.—Sir, will you to your power cause justice, law, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgments?

King.—I will.

Archbishop.—Sir, will you grant to hold and grant to keep the laws and rightful customs which the commonalty of this your kingdom have, and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God so much as in you lieth?

King.—I grant and promise so to do.

Then one of the bishops read this admonition to the King, with a loud voice. "Our Lord and King, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges and due law

and justice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good king in his kingdom ought to be the protector of the bishops and the churches under their government." The King answered, "With a willing and devout heart I promise and grant my pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the churches committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender, to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king ought in his kingdom, in right to protect and defend the bishops and churches under their government." Then, at the altar, laying his hand on the Bible, the King swears: "The things which I have before promised, I shall perform and keep, so help me God, and the contents of this book."* After the oath had been taken, his Majesty's robes were taken off and offered upon the altar; he was then led by the Archbishop and the Bishop of St. David's, and placed in the chair of coronation (a close canopy being spread over him). Then the Archbishop anointed his head, shoulders, arms, and hands with a costly ointment, the choir singing an anthem of these words, "Zadok the priest anointed King Solomon." From his coronation chair the King was led, in doublet and hose, and with a white coif on his head, to the communion table, where Bishop Laud brought forth the ancient habiliments of King Edward the Confessor, and put them upon him. Then he again retired to the chair of coronation, and received the crown of King

* Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 8.

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Edward, presented by Bishop Laud, and put on his head by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the choir singing, "Thou shalt put a crown of pure gold upon his head." Then the earls and viscounts put on their coronetted caps, the barons and bishops standing bareheaded, and every bishop came severally forward to his Majesty to bring his benediction upon him, while at each salutation the King rose and bowed. Then was King Edward's sword girt about him, which he took off again, and offered at the altar, together with two swords more. The Duke of Buckingham fastened on his spurs, and thus completely crowned, his Majesty offered first gold, then silver, at the altar, and afterwards bread and wine, which were to be used at the Holy Communion. He then, conducted by the nobles, ascended to the chair of state, and as many earls and barons as could stand around him, laid their hands on his crown, and swore to defend it with their blood. The bishops knelt without taking an oath, and the King kissed each of them. Then, after a proclamation of pardon for all offences, his Majesty was conducted to the communion table, where the Archbishop began the service on the north side, the Bishops of Llandaff and Norwich reading the epistle and gospel. These, with the Bishops of Durham and St. David's, knelt with his Majesty, and received the Communion—the Archbishop ministering the bread, and the Bishop of St. David's the cup. His Majesty received last of all, whilst *gloria in excelsis* was sung by the choir; and some prayers read by

the Archbishop concluded the ceremony.* Thus, in all solemn and religious state, was conducted the great pomp of the coronation. Probably, not one spectator present at that striking scene, had any forecastings of the future lot of the man whom now the great ones of the land were zealously contending to honour. The ceremony took place on the Day of Purification, and the King delighted to appear in white garments, as signifying the innocency of his life and the purity of his intentions.

Second Parliament.

Four days after the coronation, the Parliament was opened, and one of their first acts was to renew the attack upon Mr. Montagu. Nothing had been done against him in the Oxford Parliament, but the Commons were eagerly bent on condemning his book and punishing the writer, and the matter was at once referred to the "Committee of Religion." This ominous name now for the first time appears in the proceedings of the House of Commons.† Mr. Pym was its leading member, and reported to the House, in its name, that Montagu's book contained many erroneous opinions, which were extracted and commented upon for the benefit of the House. The House resolved that "Mr. Montagu endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, and to alienate the King's affections from his well-affected subjects."‡ Having then recited the articles drawn up by the Committee, the

Mr. Montagu again attacked.

* Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xi., i., 20—30.
† Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 9.
‡ Rushworth, i., 209.

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Commons pray "that the said Richard Montagu may be punished according to his demerits, in such exemplary manner as may deter others from attempting so presumptuously to disturb the peace of the Church and State, and that the book aforesaid may be suppressed and burnt."* With this flourish, the matter seems to have ended. Mr. Montagu's punishment consisted in being shortly after made a bishop. But what the House of Commons could not do was endeavoured to be affected by a phalanx of controversial divines. No less than six hurled their treatises at his devoted head. There was the old Dean of Exeter, famous for his endeavour to establish the Controversial College at Chelsea, Mr. Burton, Mr. Rowse, Mr. Yates, Dr. Wotton, and Bishop Carlton. This latter writer had taken a leading part in the Dort Synod, and his words might seem to come with especial weight, as from one long versed in the intricacies of these quinquarticular disputes. His treatise, however, is feeble and flat. He attacks principally two propositions which had been held by Montagu: (1.) That election and predestination are respective; (2.) That it is possible to fall from grace. With the first of these he deals very unfairly, assuming, for the purpose of his argument, a contradiction which does not exist in Montagu's view, when properly stated. He says, "That God's calling should be for, and in consideration or regard of, these things, which God's calling draweth with it and after it, is a thing

Answers to his book.

* Rushworth, i., 212.

absurd, not only in the judgment of orthodox writers, but even in the judgment of Pelagius himself."* The absurdity, if any, is not Montagu's. The principal point of the treatise seems to be the calling Mr. Montagu a Pelagian, which the bishop does some hundreds of times; but there is no attempt in it to defend those doctrines of Calvinism which outrage the reason and offend the moral sense of mankind. The acute author of the *Appeal* is indeed assailed with the rebuke, for that "he, being a priest of the Church of England, accuses bishops, his superiors, to be Puritans."† But it is probable that neither by this, nor by the arguments brought against him, was he very much overwhelmed. Chap. X. 1626.

The dispute, however, was now engaging all men's minds, and during the time that Montagu's book was being debated in Parliament, two conferences were held at York House, before the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Warwick, and other lords, on the subject of the five points. On the Arminian side, Dr. Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. White, Dean of Carlisle; on the Calvinist, Dr. Morton, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and Dr. Preston, disputed in the first conference. In the second, Mr. Montagu took the place of the Bishop of Rochester. As usual, the victory was claimed by both sides; and Lord Pembroke, doubtless, hit the truth pretty accurately, when he said, "that none returned Arminians thence, save such as repaired thither with the same Conferences at York House.

* *Carlton against Montagu*, p. 60. † *Ibid*, p. 45.

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King's proclamation.

opinions."* The controversy, however, grew so warm, that it was now thought necessary by the King to interfere. This he did by a proclamation, declaring "his religious care of the peace of this Church and the commonwealth of England; and finding that of late some questions and tenets seem to have been broached in matters of doctrine, and tenets of our religion, at first only intended against Papists, but which have afterwards, by the sharp and indiscreet handling of some of either party, given much offence to sober and well-grounded readers. His Majesty hath, therefore, thought fit, by the advice of his reverend bishops, to declare and publish his utter dislike of all those, who, to show the subtlety of their wits, or please their own humours, or vent their own passions, shall adventure to start any new opinions differing from the sound and orthodox grounds of the religion of the Church of England; and also to declare his full and constant resolution, that neither in doctrine nor discipline of the Church, nor in government of the State, he will admit the least innovation.....Wherefore, he doth straitly command all his subjects, especially those who are churchmen, from henceforth to carry themselves so wisely, warily, and conscionably, that neither by writing, preaching, printing, conferences, or otherwise, they raise, publish, and maintain any other opinions concerning religion, than such as are clearly warranted by the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and enjoineth

* Fuller's *Church History*, xi., i., 35.

his reverend archbishops and bishops, in their several dioceses, speedily to reclaim and repress all such spirits as shall, in the least degree, attempt to violate this bond of peace." "The effects of this proclamation," says Rushworth, "how equally soever intended, became the stopping of the Puritans mouths, and an uncontrolled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminian party." *

Parliament furious against Romanists.

The Parliament was now in a state of absolute fury against the Romanists. Reminding the King of his promise given last year at Oxford, they send in a long list of the names of recusants, whom they require to be superseded from their offices as justices of the peace, or otherwise. It is considered sufficient reason to demand this, if even the wife or child of a magistrate be "Popishly suspected," or do not come often to church. The dismissal of one (Sir R. Tichburne) is actually demanded because his wife had not been to church for two months.* Among the names of the recusants, or Popishly suspected, we find that of one clergyman, Robert Warren, clerk, a justice of the peace. In his case it is considered necessary to give the reasons more at length. Those given are the following: (1.) He had sent a boy, of whom he was a guardian, to a Popish seminary beyond the seas. (2.) He was alleged to have confirmed one of his parishioners who doubted, in the religion of the Church of Rome. (3.) He had only presented about one half of the recusants in his parish of Welford, and being asked the reason, said he was no informer;

* Rushworth, i., 413. † *Ibid.*, i., 396.

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and being asked again if they came to church, said they did not; and being asksd again why he did not present them, said they might be Anabaptists or Brownists for aught he knew. (4.) He was vexed at his brother, who lived at Sudbury, being presented for not coming to church. (5.) "He rated one Fage for being a factious fellow," when he came to inform against some recusants having arms in their houses.* For these extraordinary reasons, poor Mr. Warren was denounced as a Papist. The minuteness and bitterness of the accusations, show pretty clearly in what kind of temper Parliament was. The angry spirit of the members was still further aggravated by an unfortunate sermon, preached before the Court on April 12, by Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. This divine, who from his writings must have certainly been a weak man,† and who, even at this time, approached nearer to Romish doctrine than is ordi-

Bishop Goodman's sermon.

* Rushworth, i., 395.

† Goodman's *Court of King James I.*—a work published from the MS. in the Bodleian, in 1839, by Mr. Brewer, and of which we have made considerable use in the history of the last reign, was composed as an answer to the scurrilous work of Sir Anthony Weldon. The Bishop appears in it in the character of a good-tempered gossip. In the latter part of his life he was the intimate friend of Francis à St. Clara, a Dominican friar. In his will he professed that he died most constant in all the doctrine of God's holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, "whereof," he says, "I do acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the mother Church."—See Mr. Brewer's Preface. In the life of Heylin, Bishop Goodman is distinctly charged with having apostatized to Rome. "He was the only bishop of the English hierarchy who renounced a persecuted Church, to embrace all the errors and idolatries of the Roman Communion."—Heylin's *Life*, p. 40. There can be no doubt that Goodman was a concealed Romanist for some years before he ceased to administer the Episcopal function.

narily considered consistent with the character of a clergyman of the Church of England, in his sermon before the King, "asserted the real presence in such strong language, that he was suspected of going to excess, and coming too near the verge of Popery."* The sermon caused a great sensation. The Convocation examined the objectionable passages, but came to no decision. The "King, willing to satisfy himself and the Parliament," ordered Abbot, Andrewes, and Laud to inquire into the matter. They reported that "some things had been spoken less warily, but nothing falsely,"† and recommended that the Bishop should be allowed to preach again, that he might explain. If, however, we are to believe the petition afterwards presented against him by Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne, the Bishop would not explain away his statements (they are called "six gross points" in the petition), but obstinately defended them.‡ He had, however, no further trouble.§

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The unfortunate and reckless dissolution of this Parliament,‖ in order to break off the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, the presence of the discontented and affronted members in the country, and the system of forced loans, which now began to be organised, were all elements charged with peril to the State. At the

Parliament dissolved.

* Collier's *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 14. † *Ibid.*

‡ Wood's *Athenæ*, ii., 728, note.

§ Collier's *Ch. Hist.* viii., 14.

‖ "This was another firebrand kindled after the former at Oxford, to burn down the King's house and the most piously constructed Church of England."—Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 71.

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Strict measures.

same time, the bishops were busily employed in closing up a safety-valve, by an increased strictness and vigilance in the censorship of the press. "Bishop Laud," says Neal, "with two or three of his chaplains, undertook to judge of truth and error, civility and good manners, for all the wise and great men of the nation; in doing which they were so shamefully partial, that learning and industry were discouraged, men of gravity and great experience not being willing to submit their labours to be mangled and torn in pieces by a few younger divines, who were both judges and parties in the affair."* Hot-headed counsels prevailed in all matters, and the ascendency of Laud (now Bishop of Bath and Wells) who, however sincere and zealous, was miserably deficient in common sense and policy, is to be traced in all things. A calm, wise, and holy prelate, who would have doubtless exercised much influence over the young King, had his life been prolonged, had just died. There are few more eminent names in our Church history than that of Bishop Andrewes. He was so learned that "the world wanted learning to know how learned this man was; so skilled in all, especially Oriental, languages, that some conceive he might, if then living, have served as interpreter-general at the confusion of tongues."† He loved to see the service of the Church conducted with a due and splendid ceremonial, but "this I dare affirm," says Fuller, "that wheresoever he was a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or

Death and character of Bishop Andrewes.

* Neal's *Puritans*, i., 246. † Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., i., 46.

diocese, with pressing other ceremonies upon them than such as he found used before his coming thither." * "The Fathers were not more faithfully cited in his books than lively copied out in his countenance."† He was a man of a true, devout, and earnest piety. In his presence, the scurrilous jest and loose anecdote were silenced. Even King James, devoted as he was to this sort of talk, and entertained by it sometimes even by his prelates, during sermon-time, was "awed by his gravity, and refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself."‡ For more than twenty years regarded as without question the leading divine of the Church of England, his fame was not based on his published writings, as he had only put forth in Latin two short controversial treatises against Bellarmine, and a little tract called *Determinatio Theologica de jure jurando exigendo*, and in English a small volume of sermons. The book of Catechistical Doctrine, published in his life-time by others, without his consent, he always disavowed. It was, in fact, merely the sum of notes taken by some of the hearers of his lectures at Pembroke Hall. The large collection of his sermons was afterwards made and published by Laud and Buckeridge.§

Bishop Andrewes died at Southwark, on Oct. 1, and on the very same day appeared a paper of

"Tuning the pulpits."

* Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., i., 47. † *Ib.*, 46. ‡ *Ib.*

§ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 166. For some remarks on his sermons, see above—Introductory chapter.

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directions, drawn up by Laud, and issued in the name of the King to the archbishops and bishops, intended to accomplish the process of "tuning the pulpits," by way of facilitating the collection of the loan.* This practice, which had been frequently resorted to by Queen Elizabeth, who regarded the Church merely as a State institution, was not, however, likely to be so successful now as it had proved in the last century. Men's minds were too much out of tune to be easily brought back, and though the King of Denmark and the Protestant interest in Europe were now in the greatest peril, they yet needed something more tangible than pulpit exhortations, before they would readily unloose their purse-strings. The King was much pleased with Laud's performances in the drawing up of these directions, and immediately appointed him to the post of Dean of the Chapel Royal,† which had been vacated by the death of Bishop Andrewes. In this capacity, he introduced a commendable reform, which, indeed, the devout character of the King made easy for him. Up to this time it had been the custom, that at what period soever in the service the King entered the chapel, the prayers were immediately broken off, the anthem sung, and the preacher went into the pulpit to commence his sermon. This irreverent custom, which no doubt suited King James very well, was not approved of

Laud, Dean of the Chapel.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 161.

† The ancient office of Dean of the Chapel Royal had been revived by King James, after having been discontinued. Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was the first dean; to him succeeded Andrewes, and to Andrewes Laud.—Heylin.

by his son, and now, at Laud's suggestion, his Majesty agreed to be present not only at the sermon, but at the liturgy also, every Lord's Day; and that his entrance into the closet should not be noticed by the minister, but the service proceed in regular order.* Chap. X. 1626.

As soon as the policy of "tuning the pulpits" had been decided on by way of advancing the loan, and the instructions issued to the archbishops and bishops, some one or other told the King that a sermon had been preached at the Northampton Assizes in February last,† which treated on this matter, and the publication of which would be likely considerably to assist the contemplated measures. The sermon was sent for, the King read and approved it, and despatched it by one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber to Archbishop Abbot to license. The archbishop conceived that the whole thing was a deep-laid plot between Buckingham and Laud to ruin him. "They thought," says he, "that one of these two things should follow, that either the archbishop should authorize it, and so all men who were indifferent should discover him for a base and unworthy beast; or he should refuse it, and so fall into the King's indignation, who might pursue it at his pleasure, as against a man that was contrary to his service."‡ The sermon is on the text, "Render Dr. Sibthorp's Sermon.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 166.

† Preached at Northampton, at the Assizes for the county, Feb. 22, 1626, by Robert Sibthorp, Doctor of Divinity, Vicar of Brackley. Licensed by Mountain, Bishop of London, May 8, 1627.

‡ Archbishop Abbot's *Narrative;* Rushworth, i., 436.

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therefore to all their dues" (Rom., xiii., 7); and, after some introductory observations, proceeds to lay down what is *due* from the Prince, and to him. "He hath his duty to direct—command—protect; and his due is to be honoured—obeyed—maintained. First, to direct and *make laws*. He doth whatsoever pleaseth him, where the word of the King* is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What doest thou?" "Maintenance is to be allowed to princes not only out of their crown lands, but also by *imposed taxes*:—(1.) Ordinary taxes. (2.) Imposts upon trades, trafficks, and merchandises. (3.) Toll or tithes upon their lands. (4.) Poll money of their persons. Tribute being due to princes by a triple obligation, *Jure divino, naturali, civili*."† "If a *prince impose* an immoderate, nay, an unjust tax, yet the subject may not thereupon withdraw his obedience and duty; nay, he is bound in conscience to submit as under scourge for his sin."‡ "Let us not, therefore, conceive to ourselves such scruples as not to give tribute where tribute is due, or to refuse a loan or any other aid, which is not unjustly exacted, and which is promised shall not be immoderately demanded,"§ &c.

The sermon is altogether a very mediocre performance, and would never have attracted any attention save for its importance in the matter of the archbishop's disgrace. Its important bearing upon this we have clearly stated in the account

* Sibthorp's *Apostolic Obedience*, p. 10—11.
† *Ibid.*, p. 14, 15. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 16. § *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Archbishop Abbot's narrative of his suspension.

drawn up by himself.* The archbishop first excuses himself on account of his age, and his affliction with gout and other disorders, for not having attended at Court, and then mentions a trivial matter which, it appears, had incensed the Duke of Buckingham against him. The duke was waiting for an occasion for disgracing him, when the matter of Dr. Sibthorp's sermon came to his hand. He thought by sending it to the archbishop to reduce him to a dilemma. When the MS. was brought by Mr. Murrey for him to license, Abbot objected that it was not his business, but belonged to his chaplains. The King, he was told, would have him do it himself. He then desired that it might be left with him for a few days. At the time appointed Mr. Murrey returned to fetch it, and was then told by the archbishop that in the sermon there were some statements which would make against the object for which it was to be printed, as also several errors. With this message it was taken again to the King, but soon returned with a fresh command that it should be licensed. Upon this, Abbot desired that the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Laud) might be sent to him to confer with him about it. "After one or two days more the young gentleman (Mr. Murrey) cometh to me again, and telleth me that the King did not think it fit to send the Bishop of Bath unto me; but he expected I should pass the book. In the meantime had gone over one High-Commission day and this bishop, who used otherwise, very few days to fail,

* Printed in Rushworth, i., 436—457.

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was not there; which being joined with his Majesty's message, made me in some measure to smell that this whole business might have that bishop's hand in it, especially I knowing in general the disposition of the man. This man is the only inward councillor of the Duke of Buckingham, sitting with him privately sometimes whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spite. His life in Oxford was to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the Bishop of Durham (Neile), that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors. He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over epistles dedicatory and prefaces to the reader to see what faults could be found. This man, who believeth so well of himself, framed an answer to my objections. But to give some countenance to it, he must call in three other bishops, that is to say, Durham, Rochester, and Oxford, tried men for such a purpose; and the whole style of the speech runneth, We and We." The joint production of these divines was despatched to the archbishop by Mr. Murrey, who had orders to read it to him, and require his answer, but not to let the paper out of his own hands. At this extraordinary treatment the Primate was justly indignant. "I pray you tell his Majesty," said he, "that I am dealt with neither manly nor scholarlike," and he still persisted in his refusal to license the book, "being sorry at my

heart, that the King, my gracious master, should rest so great a building upon so weak a foundation, the treatise being so slender and without substance, but that it proceeded from a hungry man." The sermon was then carried to the Bishop of London (Mountain), "who," says Abbot, "gave a great and stately allowance of it; the good man not being willing that anything should stick which was sent unto him from the Court, as appeareth by the book, which is commonly called "The Seven Sacraments," which was allowed by his lordship with all the errors; which since that time have been expunged and taken out of it."*

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It was not long before the King's displeasure lighted upon the Archbishop for his firmness in this matter. Lord Conway was sent to tell him that he was to confine himself to his house at Ford in Kent, that he was no longer to manage the Court of High Commission, as he had done for so many years, nor to act as Primate and metropolitan, but simply to attend to the affairs of his

* This book was written by Dr. Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham. Some say it was composed at the request of the King for the use of the Protestant servants of the Queen. Others, that it was written for the Countess of Denbigh, Buckingham's sister, who was then somewhat disturbed in her religion, and inclined to Popery. After the Calendar it begins with the Apostles' Creed in twelve articles, the Lord's Prayer in seven petitions, the Ten Commandments, with the duties enjoined and the sins forbidden. Then follow the precepts of charity, the seven Sacraments, the three theological virtues, the three kinds of good works, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the twelve fruits of the Holy Ghost, the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, the eight beatitudes, the seven deadly sins, their opposite virtues, and the four last things, &c. In fact, it was a Protestant book of devotion cast completely into a Romanist shape.—*Vide* Notice prefixed to Cosin's Works, Oxford, 1843.—Evelyn's *Diary*, ii., 40, 41.

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own diocese of Canterbury.* A commission was then issued to Bishops Mountain, Neile, Buckeridge, Houson, and Laud, to perform the archiepiscopal functions. "It must be confessed," says Collier, "that this revocation of the powers of the hierarchy, purely by the force of the regale, looks like a modern way of proceeding. The discipline of the ancient Church was conveyed through another channel. It was not the custom for princes to lay any penalties upon bishops unless for crimes against the State."† But Church and State were now to be confounded, and the Church was to be made the base instrument for giving a lying sanction to the illegal proceedings of the State.

Dr. Wren's Sermon.

As a specimen of what lengths some divines were prepared to go, we will take a sermon by Dr. Wren, Master of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the King, preached at Whitehall, on February 17, 1627. It is on the text, "My son, fear the Lord, and the king" (Proverbs, xxiv., 21). Having defined what he considers to be meant by the Fear of God, the preacher has some lively attacks on the Puritans. "And how fully, then, meets this with the epidemial profanation of our times that will thrid you a difference betwixt this fear and perfect worship, betwixt holiness and holiness. Holiness, good store (forsooth) in heart and in mind, religion in the belly and the brain; oh,

* Fuller says that the Archbishop was suspended on the charge of accidental homicide revived against him. This is evidently a mistake. Fuller had probably never seen the Archbishop's own narrative.

† Collier's *Church History*, viii., 23.

we are so full of that, we are ready to burst with it, it runs out many times at our mouth, with 'Stand further off, I am holier than thou;' yea, and we are good men (you must know), and exceeding godly, such as fear God and hear his word duly. That's true, we have a great deal of religion in our ears too. But yet higher or lower though we have none, none upon our heads, for a due reverence before him; none in our knees to bow at his blessed name; none for our bodies to cast them down and worship—especially, not in his house, in the most sacred presence of our God. No; the less ado the better, the less superstition. Do but come in confidently, and without any more stir, sit down, and be covered, and hear, and who dare say that we fear not God?"* Presently, he attacks them still more violently, as those "who burst with envy and malice, hatred and all uncharitableness, who backbite and slander, cross and hinder, censure and condemn, wallow in oppression and usury, falsehood and wrong, lust and uncleanness, pride and hypocrisy, contempt and disobedience, schism and faction, both ecclesiastical and civil. And yet notwithstanding all this who make full account, that on their running to church and crying out for sermons, their defying the devil and railing against antichrist, their pretending of conscience, and finding fault with the State and times, their singing of psalms, and talking of Scripture, their casting up of the eye and making of sour faces, must be proof enough to any man, that they

* Dr. Wren's sermon, p. 15.

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fear God extraordinarily."* Having thus demolished the Puritans, the preacher proceeds to show *how* the fear of God is properly to be shown. The way to show the fear of God, he says, is by fearing the King. "If it be too much for the demonstration of our fearing of God to exact all the duties between man and man, then, instead of them all, take we but God's way here, express the one by another that's next to it, the fear of God, by the fear of the King."† After this, he proceeds to *parody* a well-known passage in St. John's Epistle, "If any man say, I fear God, and feareth not the King, he is a liar (and, Lord! what a holy army of liars might we then quickly muster up)."‡ "How can he that feareth not the King whom visibly he hath seen or may see, fear God, who never was, nor is, and (I may safely add) who without this other, the fear of the King, never shall, nor will be visible to him."§ "I add, that by the very argument, the duty of fear is far more clearly proved here, than there in St. John the duty of love is."‖ "There is not the least contempt of Majesty but is a spice of profanation, and every step of disloyalty is a high degree to atheism."¶ "To be whining and excepting, kicking and wincing at the sacred commands of authority over us, is as bad as sorcery and idolatry too."** "Unless you will be slaves and rebels you will fear God and the King alike."** "Let us fear God *by* the King, let us send our fear to the King of Heaven by our fear to the King on earth."†† "Our fear is not religion, but

* Dr. Wren's sermon, p. 23. † *Ib.*, p. 25. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 27.
§ *Ib.*, p. 29. ‖ *Ib.*, p. 30. ¶ *Ib.*, p. 33.
** *Ib.*, p. 38. †† *Ib.*, p. 42.

abomination, unless it fall down before the throne on earth, by the life of spotless allegiance and the quickening soul of all civil obedience."* This extraordinary doctrine was preached before the King, and published *by command*. Chap. X. 1627.

But even Dr. Wren was eclipsed by Dr. Roger Mainwaring, Rector of St. Giles's, and Chaplain to the King, who, preaching before his Majesty at Oatlands, on July 4, on the text, "I counsel thee to keep the King's commandment" (Eccl., viii., 2), does not hesitate to say, "Among all the powers that be ordained of God, the regal is most high, strong, and large. Kings above all, inferior to none, to no man, to no multitude of men, to no angel, to no order of angels."† "Their power is not merely human, but superhuman."‡ "It is a participation of God's own omnipotency, which he never did communicate to any multitudes of men in the world, but only and immediately to his own vicegerents."§ "And for his sovereign will, which gives a binding force to all his royal edicts, concluded out of the reasons of state and depth of counsel, who may dare resist it, without incurable waste and breach of conscience."‖ (Parliaments) "were not ordained to contribute any right to kings, whereby to challenge tributary aids and subsidiary helps, but for the more equal imposing, and more easy exacting of that which unto kings doth appertain, by natural and original law and justice."¶ Again, in a second sermon on the same text, Dr. Mainwaring's sermons.

* Dr. Wren's sermon, p. 42.
† Dr. Mainwaring's first sermon, p. 8. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 10.
§ *Ib.*, p. 11. ‖ *Ib.*, p. 18. ¶ *Ib.*, p. 26.

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preached before the King at Alderton, on July 29, it is asserted, "To the King, as the best and highest under God, and after God the most divine, is communicated all power; of dominion over the states and persons, and of jurisdiction over the deeds and actions of mortal men."* "Justice (properly so called) intervenes not between God and man, nor a prince, being a father, and the people his children; for justice is between equals."† "There is no mention of any limitation in Scripture to bar kings of that obedience which by natural right to them doth appertain."‡ "Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for their murmuring against the king, God suddenly sunk into hell fire."§

These sermons,‖ preached before the King, approved of by him, publishedat his command, and licensed by Laud, clearly show us the line he had already determined upon. He appears to have been firmly persuaded that all the expressions used in Scripture of absolute monarchs applied literally and fully to himself, that no *municipal* laws (as they loved to call them) could limit or affect this indefeasible divine right; that even if he assented himself to an enactment, yet even his own act could not prejudice the inherent powers of his office. That by virtue of this office he could do every act of government of right, and that the people's only part in the matter was to submit and suffer. Such was the doctrine which the Church was

* Dr. Mainwaring's second sermon, p. 11.

† *Ib.*, p. 25. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 41. § *Ib.*, p. 49.

‖ "The sermons are confessedly learned, but wherein art and wit have gone about to make true principles beget false conclusions."—Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 74.

called upon to set forth from the pulpit, and which Doctors of Divinity, with bishoprics before their eyes, were but too ready to advocate and uphold."*

Meantime, all the prisons were full of the first gentlemen of England, who had refused to contribute towards the loan; and men looked wonderingly one on another, as inquiring what would be the next phase in this strange suicidal policy. There were perhaps few men in England more able to read the signs of the times than the late Lord Keeper, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. He saw the storm of unpopularity gathering round the loan, and the methods used for enforcing it, and did not hesitate to speak publicly against it. As all his actions and words were noted by the spies of Buckingham and Laud, information of this was quickly brought to the council-table. He was reported as opposed to the King's interests, and as being slack and negligent in the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. He was unwilling to proceed against the Puritans by the oath *ex officio*, although the zealous officers of the Court of High Commission insisted on his doing so. Leicestershire, they said, swarmed with Puritans, and the Church was in danger. "What sort of people are these Puritans,

Bishop Williams and the Puritans.

* "Hath it not been preached, or rather prated, in our pulpits that all we have is the King's, *jure divino*, say these time-servers. We see how willing they be to change a good conscience for a bishopric."—*Speech of Sir F. Seymour.* Rushworth, i., 499. Wren and Mainwaring were both made bishops. Probably, Sibthorp's appointment would have caused too great an outcry. As Archbishop Abbot says, he was a very ignorant man; but we find him immediately afterwards acting as Commissary for the High Commission.

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of whom you speak?" asked the Bishop. "They are men," replied Sir J. Lamb, "who seem to the world as those who would neither swear, whore, nor drink, but yet would lie, cozen, and deceive. They would frequently hear two sermons in a day, and repeat the same, too, and afterwards pray, and sometimes fast all day long." "Are they men that refuse to contribute towards the loan?" asked the Bishop. "They do generally resolve to lend freely," said Sir John. "Then I am not satisfied to yield to proceedings against them," said Williams; "for my part, I expect not another bishopric. I am under a cloud at the council-table already, and I will not draw the Puritans upon me, too, for I am sure they will carry all things at last!" These speeches were duly noted and sealed up, to be used against the prelate at a future day.* At this moment Williams could afford to affect disinterestedness, and to sneer at those who were playing their cards for promotion. It was not always so, however. We have seen how he tried to supplant Abbot when under the difficulties of his accidental homicide, and by and by the contempt for promotion will be again overcome, so as to enable him to be reconciled to the translation to York. He was politic enough, however, not to put himself to the disgrace of a certain rebuff; and when the rich See of Winchester was vacant, did not swell the crowd of eager suitors who sought to profit by the promotion which it would cause. "At the death

* Rushworth, i., 420. The matter is told rather differently in Hacket's *Life of Williams*.

of Andrewes," says Sanderson, "the Court was suddenly filled with the access of bishops; who, knowing that by removes, preferments would follow to many, each one, having charity to their merit, expect advancement in degrees, which occasioned the Court bishops to advise them not to appear till they were sent for, and not prevailing, they had command to return home." *

Eager seeking of preferment by bishops.

But some of those now promoted were of a different spirit. The good Joseph Hall was this year consecrated to the See of Exeter.† It is probable, indeed, that he owed his promotion less to his learning and holy life, than to the fact that at this moment he appeared as the champion of the doctrine which Laud and his party were especially bent on establishing. Hall was too wise a man, and too good a scholar, to fall in with the notion which was held by Abbot and the Puritan party, that the Romish Church was altogether anti-Christian, and that the Protestant succession was to be traced through the Berengarians, Albigenses, and Wicliffists. He saw the great advantage which this weak line of argument gave to the Jesuit disputants, and (to use his own words) "in a just indignation to see the question thus mis-stated betwixt us, as if we, yielding ourselves of another Church, originally and fundamentally different, should make good our own erection upon the ruins, yea, the nullity of theirs; and well considering the infinite and great inconveniences that

Dr Hall's promotion.

* Sanderson's *Reign of King Charles I.*, p. 74.

† December 23rd, 1627.—Le Neve's *Fasti.*

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must needs follow upon this defence, I adventured to set my pen on work, desiring to rectify the opinions of those men whom an ignorant zeal had transported to the prejudice of our holy cause. Whereupon, I was suddenly exposed to the rash censures of many well-affected and zealous Protestants, as if I had, in a remission to my wonted zeal to the truth, attributed too much to the Roman Church. This envy I was fain to take off by my speedy apologetical advertisement, and after that by my reconciler. Immediately, before the publishing of this tractate (which did not a little aggravate the envy and suspicion), I was by his Majesty raised to the Bishopric of Exeter, having formerly, with much humble deprecation, refused the See of Gloucester, earnestly proffered unto me."* It was not, however, to be expected that a man like Joseph Hall could be altogether acceptable to those who procured the promotion of Wren, Mainwaring, Neile, and Field.† "I entered upon that place," says he, "not without much prejudice and suspicion in some hands; for some that sate at the stern of the Church had me in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials; my ways

* Hall's *Autobiography;* Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 287.

† Many of King Charles's appointments to sees were unfortunate, but there is no reason to suppose that he did not conscientiously endeavour to promote the best men. He says himself, "If at any time my judgment of men failed, my good intention made my error venial. And some bishops I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny."—*Eikon Basilike*, p. 89.

were curiously observed and scanned.....Some persons of note in the clergy opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit and directly at the Court, complaining of my too much indulgence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billows went so high that I was three several times on my knees to his Majesty, to answer these great criminations, and I plainly told my Lord of Canterbury that rather than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my rochet." *

Promotion of Mountain, Neile, and Laud.

It would have been well indeed for the English Church, had the King been able to select for all his episcopal appointments men of the spirit and character of Joseph Hall. There were others, however, raised to the highest dignities of a far different stamp. Neile had assisted Laud in his first advances, and Laud, faithful to his old friend, now lent a helping hand to him in return. He was chosen to succeed the great Andrewes in the best see of England, thereby vacating the rich preferment of Durham. It had been the King's intention to transfer Mountain, Bishop of London, to Durham; but this prelate, who was a man "inactive and addicted to voluptuousness," † and "who had spent a great part of his life in the air of the Court and the warm city of London," looked on this as "the worst kind of banishment,

* Hall's *Autobiography;* Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 289.

† Milton speaks of his "canary-sucking and swan-eating palate."—*Of Reformation*, book i.

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next neighbour to a civil death." * In spite of his resistance, he was, however, at last prevailed on to accept the change; and thus the ground was cleared for the King to promote his favourite Laud to the See of London. In the meantime, died Toby Matthews, Archbishop of York,† and at this high dignity, Mountain eagerly grasped. A considerable time, however, was lost in the arrangements necessary, so that Laud's translation to the See of London does not bear date till the middle of the following year.‡ During all this time he was virtually Primate of England. He had been admitted member of the Privy Council in April, together with Neile, and he was the leading man in the commission for executing the duties of the primacy during the suspension of Abbot.

Dispute about the table being placed altarwise begins at Grantham.

The ascendency of the High Church party in the government of the Church, encouraged the country clergy who were of a similar spirit, to attempt reforms which they could not have safely ventured upon under the presidency of Abbot. Mr. Titly, the Vicar of Grantham, seeing that in all the most decently furnished churches and cathedrals, the holy table occupied the position of the ancient altar of the Romish Church, thought it fit

* Heylin's *Laud*, 174.

† "He was one of a proper person," says Fuller, "(such people *ceteris paribus*, and sometimes *ceteris imparibus*, were preferred by the Queen), and an excellent preacher. He was of a cheerful spirit, yet without any trespass on episcopal gravity. None could condemn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein he could as well not be, as not be merry."—Fuller, *Church Hist.*, xi., i., 74.

‡ Heylin's *Laud*, 174.

to transfer the one in his parish church from the middle of the church to the east end. This was resented by some of his parishioners, who complained against him to his diocesan, Bishop Williams. The Bishop of Lincoln was placed by this appeal, in rather an awkward position. He could not very well decide absolutely against the Vicar's act, for in his own chapel and cathedral church, as well as at Westminster, of which he was dean, the table was placed *altar-wise*.* Neither on the other hand did it suit him to advocate Laud's view, and to offend the Puritan party by ruling that the holy table was to be placed thus in all cases. The Vicar of Grantham and his parishioners, the aldermen of the town, appeared at Buckden. "Some heat, and sharp impeachments against each other being over, the Bishop did his best to make them friends, and supped them together in his great hall, while himself retired to his study, and bestowed that night in writing, and made his papers ready by day. The secretary gave a short letter to the alderman, in which that which concerns the case in hand is this little: 'That his lordship conceived that the communion-table when it is not used should stand in the upper end of the chancel, not altar-wise, but table-wise. But when it is used either in or out of the time of communion, it should continue in the place it took up before, or be carried to any other place of church or chancel, where the minister might be most audibly heard of the whole congregation.'"† This attempt to suit all parties,

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 171. † Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 101.

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probably fared as such attempts usually do. The Bishop, however, was not satisfied with delivering this short judgment. He composed and published a letter, addressed to the Vicar of Grantham, in which he examines the injunctions, articles, and orders of the Queen, the homilies, canons, &c., and maintains that "the utensil on which the holy communion is celebrated, ought not be an altar, but a joined table; that it is not to stand altar-wise in parish churches, but table-wise; that this table, when holy duties are not performing at it, must be laid up in the chancel, but in the time of service to be removed to such a place as he that officiates may be most conveniently heard."*

At the same time that this dispute arose at Grantham, a similar change of the position of the holy table was made in St. Nicholas church, Abingdon. A bequest had been made to this church, about which some doubt had arisen, and the position of the table formed part of the decree of the Court of Chancery. "And that the table given by Mr. Blucknall, should not, by the multitude of people coming to service, or otherwise, by sitting or writing upon it, or by any other irreverent usage, be profaned, spoilt, or hurt, we do order that the said table should constantly stand at the upper end of the chancel," &c.

Such was the beginning of the dispute which, some few years afterwards, assumed such importance

* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 101. "This letter was answered by Dr. Heylin, in his *Antidotum Lincolniense*, and was afterwards produced against the Bishop in his trial before the Star Chamber.

in the history of the Church of England. It is evident that those who contended for the *altar-wise* view, had on their side all the weight due to considerations of decency, fitness, and order.* The other side could merely allege some vague fears of Popery, an argument which might be used equally against any part of our church ceremonial.

* "And being Ordinary of the place (Alresford), he removed the communion table to the east end of the chancel; the decency of which act he not only justified by reason, convincing the people how much it had been profaned by sitting on it, scribbling, and casting hats on it in sermon time, and at other times passing the parish accounts, and disputing business of like nature, &c."—*Life of Dr. Heylin*, p. 52.

CHAPTER XI.

Chap. XI. 1628.

Parliament meets—Laud's sermon on unity—Religious grievances—Mainwaring censured—Recants—His after preferment and its bad effect—Attacks upon Neile, Laud, and the Arminians—Parliament prorogued—Answer to the remonstrance—Laud and Montagu promoted—Death of the Duke of Buckingham—Laud's ascendency—His character—Suppression of books—Declaration before the 39 Articles—The Parliament meets again in a very ill temper—Mr. Rouse, Mr. Pym, and Sir J. Eliot declaim against the Arminians—The "vow" of the House of Commons in answer to Laud's declaration—Mr. Oliver Cromwell—Great excitement in the House—Parliament dissolved—Dr. Leighton's barbarous punishment.

THE nation was now involved in war with both Spain and France. The expedient of the loan had failed to raise a sufficient sum for the King's necessities; the compounding with recusants, the tax upon coals, and other devices for procuring money, were all unequal to the crisis: it was evident that another Parliament must be summoned. But before this was done it was thought expedient to liberate all the gentlemen who had been imprisoned or confined to counties, on account of refusal to contribute towards the loan. "This, in effect,"

Parliament meets.

says Heylin, "was but the letting loose so many hungry lions to pursue and worry the King."* Almost all these confessors in the cause of popular independence were, as might be expected, returned to the new Parliament. From all sides the members came together full of their grievances, and determined on redress. It cannot be supposed that the King and Laud, stout-hearted though they were, and, perhaps, little really alive to the intensity of the popular discontent, could contemplate the meeting of a new Parliament without considerable apprehension. Chap. XI. 1628.

Laud preached before Parliament on March 17, and earnestly exhorted them to unity. "I press unity hard upon you," says he, "pardon me this zeal. O that my thoughts could speak that to you that they do to God; or that my tongue could express them but such as they are, or that there were an open passage that you might see them, as they pray faster than I can speak, for unity."† Thursday, March 20, the House settled their committees for religion, grievances, courts of justice, and trade, and agreed upon a petition to the King for a fast. They soon began to show a very angry temper against the Court divines, and complained of what "those two sycophants had prated in the pulpit."‡ They were also full of their usual grievances about the encouragement of Jesuits and recusants. It was complained that "the Romanists now had in this Laud's sermon on unity. Religious grievances.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 176.

† Laud's Works, i., 160. Ang. Cath. Library.

‡ Speech of Sir R. Phillips, Rushworth, i., 503. Sibthorp and Mainwaring are meant.

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country a bishop consecrated by the Pope; that the bishop hath his vicars-general, archdeacons, rural deans, apparitors, and such like; they all execute their jurisdictions and make their ordinary visitations through the kingdom, keep courts, and determine ecclesiastical causes."* The King, in his answer to their petition, promised, as he had done before, fully to carry out the wishes of the Parliament, and they soon after unanimously voted him five subsidies. Before, however, these were fully granted, they proceeded to the consideration of their grievances, and to the drawing up and passing of the famous Petition of Right.

Mainwaring censured.

About the end of May, Mr. Rouse brought in a charge against Dr. Mainwaring: (1.) For labouring to infuse into the conscience of his Majesty the persuasion of a power not bounding itself with law; (2.) For persuading the conscience of the subjects that they are bound to obey commands illegal—"yea, he damns them for not obeying them;" (3.) For robbing the subject of the propriety of his goods; (4.) For branding those who will not lose this propriety with scandalous speech and most odious titles; (5.) For seeking to blow up Parliament and Parliamentary powers. Upon these charges being made and supported out of the published sermons of Dr. Mainwaring, the Commons voted that he had "most unlawfully abused his holy function, and grievously offended against the prosperity and good government of their State and Commonwealth,"† and they appointed Mr.

* Rushworth, i., 514. † *Ib.*, i., 594.

Pym to prosecute him before the Lords. This congenial task Pym performed in a very powerful speech, in which he utterly crushed and annihilated the Doctor's unfortunate Court divinity. "All kings," exclaims the orator, "that are not tyrants or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of their laws; and they that persuade them to the contrary are vipers and pests both against them and the Commonwealth." * The Lords shortly afterwards gave this sentence against the preacher: (1.) That Dr. Mainwaring shall be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House; (2.) That he be fined £1,000 to the King; (3.) That he shall make such submission and acknowledgment of his offences, as shall be set down by a committee in writing, both at the bar and in the House of Commons; (4.) That he shall be suspended three years from the exercise of his ministry; (5.) That he shall hereafter be disabled from any ecclesiastical dignity; (6.) That he shall be for ever disabled to preach at the Court hereafter; (7.) That his Majesty be moved to grant a proclamation for the calling in of his books, that they may be burnt in London and both the Universities.† This very severe sentence showed that Parliament was not to be trifled with. The high asserter of kingly power quailed before it. Only some few weeks before, he had justified the doctrine of his two printed sermons in a sermon preached at his own church, at St. Giles's in the Fields; yet now, frightened by the angry orators of the Commons, he has the infinite

* Rushworth, i., 602. † *Ibid*, i., 605.

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He recants.

meanness to submit to make, on his knees, a most degrading retractation: "May it please this honourable House, I do here, in all sorrow of heart and true repentance, acknowledge the many errors and indiscretions I have committed, in preaching and publishing those two sermons of mine, which I called Religion and Allegiance, and my great fault in falling upon this theme again, and handling the same rashly and unadvisedly in my own parish church of St. Giles in the Fields, the 4th of May last past. I do fully acknowledge those three sermons to have been full of many dangerous passages, inferences, and scandalous aspersions, in most part of the same; and I do humbly acknowledge the justice of this honourable House in that judgment and sentence passed upon me for my great offence. And I do, from the bottom of my heart, crave pardon of God, the King, and this honourable House, and the Church, and this Commonwealth in general, and those worthy persons adjudged to be reflected upon by me, in particular, for these great errors and offences."*—*Roger Mainwaring*. It was scarce worth while, for the sake of a man who showed himself as mean in recanting, as he had been in preaching to attract notice and preferment, to outrage Parliament and the country by loading him with favours. Yet Parliament had scarce risen when his fine was remitted, and he was delivered from prison. More than this, he was straightway appointed to the living of Stamford-Rivers, in Essex, with a dispensation to hold it with

His after preferment and its bad effects.

* Rushworth, i., 605.

St. Giles's in the Fields; afterwards made Dean of Worcester; and, finally, Bishop of St. David's.*

Laud had, at any rate, this merit, that as he was true to his principles, and fearless in asserting them, so he was faithful to his friends, and not afraid to stand by them. He may have been quite right in his theory, that in the administration of Church patronage the King was not to be dictated to by the House of Commons, but it was at least singularly unfortunate that, out of all the orthodox divines of England, he should have selected such a man as Roger Mainwaring for the object of his especial favours. He was no credit to that party which now could boast in its ranks men like Herbert, and Hammond, and Sanderson. If relieved from punishment, at any rate he might have been left in a fitting obscurity. "The preferring this gentleman," says Collier, "who had recanted in form, and owned himself so remarkable a criminal, was no serviceable conduct; this countenance looked something like a partiality for the prerogative, made the Parliament more warm at their next meeting, and the King lose ground in the affection of his subjects."† To make the matter still more full of inconsistency, immediately after the Session of Parliament was closed, the King, by his proclamation, did actually call in and suppress Mainwaring's book, and declare that he had "drawn

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 152; Collier's *Church History*, viii., 39.

† Collier's *Church History*, viii., 39.

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upon himself the just censure and sentence of the High Court of Parliament."*

The House of Commons had voted the subsidies, and when they had obtained the King's full assent to the Petition of Right, they presented the bill in due form. Together with this welcome document, however, they presented another, which was by no means of so agreeable a character. This was a remonstrance, in which they set forth all their grievances, attacked with great severity the Duke of Buckingham, re-echoed the old complaints against the encouragement of recusants and the growth of Popery, and indulged themselves with a smart sally against the Arminians and their abettors. "The hearts of your good subjects are perplexed," say they, "when they behold with sorrow a daily growth and spreading of the faction of the Arminians; that being, as your Majesty well knows, but a cunning way to bring in Popery—being Protestants in show, but Jesuits in opinion; which caused your Royal Father, with so much pious wisdom, to endeavour the suppressing of them. And your gracious Majesty, imitating his most worthy example, hath openly, and by your proclamation, declared your mislike of those persons and of their opinions; who, notwithstanding, are much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends, even of the clergy near to your Majesty—namely, Dr. Neile, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly suspected

Attacks upon Neile, Laud, and the Arminians.

* Rushworth, i., 633; *Diary of Rev. John Rous* (Camden Society), p. 67.

to be unsound in their opinions that way. And it being now generally held the way to preferment and promotion in the Church, many scholars do bend the course of their studies to maintain those errors, their books and opinions are suffered to be printed and published; and, on the other side, the imprinting such as are written against them, and in defence of the orthodox Church, is hindered and prohibited; and means hath been sought out to depress and discountenance pious, and painful, and orthodox preachers, and how conformable soever and peaceable in their disposition they be, yet the preferment of such is opposed, and they are hardly permitted to lecture." *

We can scarcely suppose that the whole House of Commons was so devoted to theology, as to have read and comprehended the matters in dispute between the Calvinists and Arminians. It is evident that the attack is meant more against persons than doctrines, and Laud is already clearly recognised as the principal adviser of the King in his absolute courses.† The House knew who it was that had devised the scheme of "tuning the pulpits," and having censured the instruments, now strike at the contriver and organiser of the policy.‡ The King

* Rushworth, i., 621-2.

† "Bishop Laud and those other prelates who lay under the odium of Arminians and Popishly affected, because they were of a larger understanding and more public spirit than many of their order, were unhappily engaged in the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, and very forward in those measures which the King unfortunately took. And their being thus made a Court faction, brought a popular distrust and hatred of them."—Kennett's *Complete History of England*, iii., 33.

‡ In his Diary, Laud thus notices these proceedings: "June 14,

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was made very angry by this remonstrance, and when it became known that the Commons were preparing another on the subject of Tonnage and Poundage, he came suddenly down to the House of Lords and prorogued the Parliament. To the remonstrance which had been presented, an answer was drawn up by Laud for the King,* which was published to the country. The answer denies the increase of Popery; with regard to the Arminian charge, it asserts that this is a great reflection upon the King, "as if his Majesty is so ignorant in matters of religious belief, or so indifferent in maintaining them, as that any singular opinion should grow up or any faction prevail in his kingdoms without his knowledge; that two eminent prelates, attending his person, were much wronged in being accused without the least colour of proof produced against them; and that should either these bishops, or any others, attempt the altering of religion, he would quickly animadvert upon them, without staying for the Commons' remonstrance." It is then denied that either orthodox books are hindered, or good preachers neglected. "As for the

Parliament prorogued.

Answer to the remonstrance.

being Saturday, Dr. Mainwaring was censured. After his censure, my cause was called to the report, but by God's goodness towards me, I was fully cleared in the House. The same day the House of Commons were making their Remonstrance to the King. Therein they named my Lord the Bishop of Winchester and myself. One in the House stood up and said, Now we have named those persons, let us think of some causes why we did it. Sir Edward Cooke answered, Have we not named my Lord of Buckingham without showing a cause, and may we not be as bold with them?"

* Laud's Works, v., 153; Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 33.

Church preferments in the Crown, his Majesty has always endeavoured to bestow them upon industry and desert; but then, as the preferments are his Majesty's own, he shall make himself judge of the merits of persons, and not be taught by a remonstrance."*

Soon after Parliament was prorogued there came out proclamations from the King for proceeding against recusants, and for making search for priests and Jesuits, and specially for Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon,† who had succeeded Dr. William Bishop as Romish Bishop for England. The recusants were called upon to make composition for *two-thirds* of their estate, which, by law, were due to the King; but though this sounds almost like a confiscation, it is said, that most of them managed to escape on easy terms.‡ At this the Puritanical party would, of course, be still further exasperated. They seem, indeed, at this time to be lashing themselves up to fury, and thirsting for the blood of Papists and Arminians. An absurd letter, evidently forged, had been published, purporting to be written by a Jesuit in England to the Rector of the College in Brussels, in which the English Jesuit is made to say that his party was full of the most buoyant hopes on account of the spread of Arminianism.§

* Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 34.

† "This Chalcedon Smith wrote a book called the *Prudential Balance*, much commended by men of his own persuasion."—Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., i., 73.

‡ Rushworth, i., 633.

§ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 154. Neal, of course, treats the letter as genuine.—See Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 38.

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Laud and Montagu promoted.

The sedulous and constant joining of the terms Arminian and Papist (which have no more real connection than Calvinist and Papist) led the ignorant people to imagine that every promotion of a man who was supposed to hold Arminian opinions was, in fact, an encouragement of Popery. Thus the advancement of Laud to the See of London, and of Montagu to that of Chichester, were received with much discontent.* It seemed, indeed, a singular comment on the latter appointment that his book (*Appello Cæsarem*) should be soon after called in by the same authority which had advanced him; but the man himself was confessedly one of the leading divines of the Church for learning and acuteness, neither does he appear to be justly chargeable with the base sycophancy of Sibthorp and Mainwaring, nor the still baser cowardice of the latter.

Death of the Duke of Buckingham.

The minds of all men in England were for a moment startled from consideration of political grievances and theological disputes, by the overwhelming news of the murder of the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, just as he was about to take the command of the fleet for relieving Rochelle. The King is said to have been at his devotions at the time the news was brought to him, about four miles from Portsmouth (it was the eve of Saint Bartholomew), and to have received

* "There was much magnanimity in preferring the man whom he beheld as well in his personal sufferings as in his great abilities, yet was it not held safe for the King, as his case then stood, to give sueh matter of exasperation to the House of Commons."—Heylin's *Laud*, 185.

the intelligence with great presence of mind, not "betraying the least interruption till his prayers were over."* He then gave orders for the fleet to proceed immediately to sea, and began to take measures for giving the duke a magnificent funeral. From this, however, he was diverted by the politic advice of the Lord Treasurer. Chap. XI. 1628.

From the death of the duke may be dated the absolute ascendency of Laud in the counsels of the King, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters.† This prelate, to use the words of Lord Clarendon,‡ "too secure in a good conscience and most sincere worthy intentions, thought he could manage and discharge the place of the greatest minister in the Court, without the least condescension to the arts and stratagems of the Court, and without any other friendship or support than what the splendour of a pious life and his unpolished integrity would reconcile to him, which was an unskilful measure in this licentious age."§ "The roughness of his uncourtly nature," says Sir E. Dering, one of the most decided of his enemies, "sent most men discontented from him, yet would he often of himself find ways and means to sweeten them again when they least looked for it. He was always one and the same man; begin with him at Oxford, and so go on to Canterbury, he is unmoved, unchanged; he never complied with the times, but Ascendency of Laud. His character.

* Kennett's *Complete History of England*, iii., 45.

† Rushworth, i., 637.

‡ "Of Bishop Laud it may be more proper to *take* a character than to *give* it."—*Complete History of England*, iii., 54.

§ Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 287. Oxf. ed.

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kept his own stand till the times came up to him."* Once more, to quote the language of the philosophical French statesman and historian, "Alike incapable of conciliating opposing interests, and of respecting rights, he rushed, with head down and eyes closed, at once against liberties and abuses; opposing to the latter his rigid probity, to the former his furious hate; seeking no man's friendship, anticipating and able to bear no resistance, persuaded that power is all-sufficient in pure hands; and constantly the prey of some fixed idea, which ruled him with all the violence of passion, and all the authority of duty."† The first act of the new prime-minister, so dangerous even by his virtues, was to recommend the King to use every means practicable for putting down the boldness of the Puritanical and Calvinistic writers. To do this with some show of impartiality, it was necessary to animadvert in some sort upon those who upheld the other side of the question. Montagu, secure in his See of Chichester, would be able to bear with equanimity the suppression of the book to which he owed his advance, more especially as the proclamation was so timed "that the books were for the most part vented, and out of danger of seizure,"‡ while the writings of his numerous opponents were all suppressed, and "divers of the printers questioned in the High Commission."§ All the divines who had been censured by Parliament procured a

Suppression of books.

* Sir E. Dering's *Speeches in matters of Religion*, p. 4.
† Guizot's *English Revolution*, Hazlitt's translation, p. 39.
‡ Rushworth, i., 633; Heylin's *Laud*, 195. § *Ibid.*

full royal pardon for all their offences, and secure in unhesitating support from their great patron at Court, they might afford to despise the thunders of Parliamentary wrath. Chap. XI. 1629.

The King, however, and his advisers had now experienced enough of its intensity to make them willing to disarm it, if possible, by some unimportant concessions. With a view, therefore, to the next Session of Parliament, which was to commence in January, Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Williams are both summoned from their enforced retirement, and Barnaby Potter, Provost of Queen's, a noted Calvinist, is appointed to the See of Carlisle; and together with the proclamation suppressing Montagu's book, the 39 Articles were published with a declaration prefixed to them from the pen of Laud.* This declaration (which is now printed in our Prayer Books, immediately before the Articles) begins with a mention of unity, and a prohibition of the least difference from the Articles. It then declares that Convocation is the proper instrument for settling all points of doctrine and discipline, and with regard to disputed points takes comfort in the consideration that all clergymen have signed the Articles, "which is an argument to us that they all agree in the true, usual, literal sense of the said Articles." It then declares the King's will, "that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises as they be generally set forth in the Holy Scriptures and the general meaning of the Articles of

Declaration before the 39 Articles.

* See *Laud's Works*, vol. i., p. 153—Ang. Cath. Library.

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the Church of England, according to them. And no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, or draw the Articles aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense." Neal complains of this Declaration as being unintelligible, but in the same sentence states that the Calvinists understood its meaning, and petitioned against being restrained from declaring what they called "the whole counsel of God."* The intention of the Declaration is, indeed, plain enough; the policy more questionable. It was intended to restrain the sermons on predestination and election, free and irresistible grace, and all the favourite topics of the Calvinist. But to do this in such a way, at such a time, under pretence of impartiality to both sides, and by way of conciliation to the party which was really aimed at, was something like tempting the irritated Puritan to rend asunder the thin veil, and to show the real intent of those who thought to purchase unity at so cheap a rate.†

If Laud could have given his opponents credit for somewhat more of sense and discernment than he did, he might have avoided some of his most glaring faults of policy. In that Parliament there

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 159.

† "It never falleth out well with Christian princes, when they make religion bend to policy, or think to gain their ends on men by doing such things as they are not plainly guided to by the light of conscience. These actions were looked upon merely as the tricks of king-craft."—Heylin's *Laud*, p. 195.

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sat men of the highest intelligence, of great and varied talent—men who would not be hoodwinked by the studied ambiguity of a Declaration, nor led astray by hollow concessions from the settled purpose of their minds. Accordingly, on the very first day of the new session, the speakers returned to the charge against the Arminians with extraordinary vehemence. "I desire," said Mr. Rouse, "that we may consider the increase of Arminianism, an error that makes the grace of God lackey it after the will of man, that makes the sheep to keep the shepherd, and makes a mortal seed of an immortal God. An Arminian is the spawn of a Papist,* and if there come the warmth of favour upon him, you shall see him turn into

The Parliament meets again in a very bad temper.

Mr. Rouse.

* It is perfectly ludicrous to us to contemplate the excessive state of fury into which the Puritans were thrown by the very name of Arminian. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a respectable staid man, but of Puritanical views, thus vituperates them: "The Arminians, for their wicked and scandalous lives, their cursed and graceless doctrines, are no less to be abhorred than when they owned their first, their ancient and true name of Anabaptist; and certainly, if it were possible, they yet deserve a worse appellation for the blasphemous doctrines of these wilful heretics."—*Autobiography*, vol. ii., 65. "A reader," says Mr. Le Bas, "not much acquainted with theological controversy, might here, possibly, be induced to pause, and to ask, What is an Arminian? What were the opinions and practices of the enemy to God and man who bore that name? And he would doubtless be much surprised to learn that an Arminian was one who rejected the doctrine that men are doomed to eternal happiness or misery by an absolute and irrevocable decree, and that the grace of God is so absolutely indefectible, that the elect can never fall away; one who believed that the scheme of redemption was in its design universal; one who maintained that the human will is not in a state of positive slavery; one likewise who did not conceive it altogether damnable to hold that a member of the Church of Rome might be saved."—*Life of Laud*, p. 127.

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one of those frogs that rise out of the bottomless pit.....Wherefore let us now, by the unanimous consent and resolution of us all, make a vow and covenant, henceforth to hold fast, I say to hold fast, our God and religion."* The King sent to beg they would give their attention to Tonnage and Poundage, but they would not attend to anything but Religion; the cry of the members was still of Popery and Arminianism; they wished also to inquire what persons had been advanced to ecclesiastical preferments, and to whom pardons had been granted since the last session.

Mr. Pym.

The whole House accordingly formed itself into a committee for religion, and Mr. Pym proceeded to address it. "Two diseases there be," said he, "the one old, the other new; the old, Popery, the new, Arminianism. There be three things to be inquired after concerning Popery. (1.) The cessation of the execution of the laws against Papists. (2.) How the Papists have been employed and countenanced. (3.) The law violated in bringing in of superstitious ceremonies amongst us, especially at Durham by Mr. Cosins, as angels, crucifixes, saints, altars, candles on Candlemas day, burnt in the church after the Popish manner."† He then

* Rushworth, i., 645.

† The history of this charge against Dr. Cosin, is as follows: Mr. Peter Smart, a prebendary of Durham, had preached violently against the bishops for attempting to introduce more ceremonial into the public worship, and had reflected also on some alterations which had been made in the Church of Durham, but not, as it appears, especially by Dr. Cosin, who was a canon of that church. For his violent and scurrilous sermon, Mr. Smart was punished by the Court of High Commission, and deprived of

proceeds to the charge against Arminianism, which is exceedingly curious, as it shows the barefaced and unblushing way in which a great Puritanical orator could venture to pervert the well-known facts of our Church history. "That whereas by the articles set forth 1562, and by the catechism set forth in King Edward VI.'s days, and by the writing of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr, *who were employed in making our articles;* and by the constant professions, sealed by the blood of so many martyrs, as Cranmer, Ridley, and others; and by the thirty-six articles in Queen Elizabeth's time, and by the articles agreed upon at Lambeth, *as the doctrine of the Church of England*, which King James sent to Dort, and to Ireland! and *were avowed by us and our State*, his Majesty hath expressed himself in preserving unity in religion established, though his royal intention, notwithstanding, hath been perverted by some to suppress the truth. Let us show wherein these late opinions are contrary to those settled truths, and what men have since preferred that have professed these heresies; what pardons they have had for false doctrines; what prohibiting of books and writings against their doctrine, and permitting of such books

his preferment. Immediately he was supplied with £400 a year subscription by the Puritan party. In 1640, this Peter Smart drew up twenty-one articles of impeachment against Dr. Cosin, which were brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Rouse. The charges were most of them easily disproved by Dr. Cosin, who gained every one's esteem by his conduct in exile in the time of his troubles, and on the Restoration was made Bishop of Durham.—See Appendix to vol. i. of Cosin's works: Oxford, 1843.

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as have been for them. Let us inquire after the abettors; let us inquire, also, after the pardons granted of late to some of these, and the presumption of some that dare preach the contrary to truth before his Majesty. It belongs to the duty of a Parliament to establish true religion, and punish false; we must know what Parliament have done formerly in religion. Our Parliaments have confirmed general councils! For the Convocation, it is but a provincial synod of Canterbury, and cannot bind the whole kingdom. As for York, that is distant, and cannot bind us or the laws; for the High Commission it was derived from Parliament."*

This speech is certainly full of the most original ideas. It was a happy thought to make King Charles responsible for the writings of Peter Martyr, and the articles of Lambeth! to assert that King James sent these articles to Ireland; that they were "avowed by us and our State," whereas they were never binding on any man, woman, or child in this country; to declare that Parliaments have confirmed general councils; to despise Convocation because it happens to be divided into two synods; and to wind up by asserting that the High Commission was derived from Parliament!† But that such a speech should have been delivered and applauded, shows sufficiently the temper of the House.

Sir J. Eliot.

The next day, Sir John Eliot spoke on the same

* Rushworth, i., 647.

† It was allowed and formalized by statute (1 Eliz.), but of course *derived* from the royal prerogative.

subject, with more sense and temper. "There is a jealousy conceived, as if we meant to dispute in matters of faith. It is not our profession, that is not to be disputed; it is not in the Parliament to make a new religion, nor, I hope, shall it be in any to alter the body of the truth, which we now profess. I must confess among all those fears that we have contracted, there ariseth to me not one of the least dangers in the declaration that is made and published in his Majesty's name, concerning disputing and preaching. We see what is said of Popery and Arminianism; our faith and religion is in danger by it, for like an inundation it doth break in at once upon us. It is said, If there be any difference of opinion concerning the interpretation of the thirty-nine Articles, the bishops and clergy, in the Convocation, have power to dispute it, and to order which way they please, and for aught I know, Popery and Arminianism may be introduced by them, and then it must be received by all. A slight thing that the power of religion should be left to the persons of these men. I honour their profession: there are among our bishops such as are fit to be made examples for all ages, who shine in virtue, and are firm for our religion; but the contrary faction I like not. We see there are some among them who are not orthodox, nor sound in religion as they should be, witness the two bishops complained of the last meeting of the Parliament; I apprehend such a fear that should we be in their power, we may be in danger to have our religion overthrown. Some of these are masters of cere-

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monies, and they labour to introduce new ceremonies into the Church; yet some ceremonies are useful," &c.

The Vow of the House of Commons.

At length the debates on the subject issued in a resolution, called the "The Vow of the House of Commons."* "We, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion, which were established by Parliament, in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which, by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, hath been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us."† This sufficiently vague and harmless resolution was followed by a declaration to the King on the reasons for giving precedency to religion. In reply, the King hinted that he should prefer their attending to Tonnage and Poundage, but the Commons not taking the hint, fell into dispute again (Feb. 4) upon religious topics, and discussed, in no very satisfied temper, the promotion of Laud and Montagu.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell.

On February 12, Mr. Oliver Cromwell being in the committee to inquire into the pardons granted by the King, informed the House "what countenance the Bishop of Winchester did give to some persons that preached flat Popery, and mentioned the persons by name, and how by this Bishop's means, Mainwaring (who, by censure, the last Parliament, was disabled ever holding any ecclesi-

* Rushworth, i., 649. † *Ibid.*

astical dignity in the Church, and confessed the justice of that censure) is nevertheless preferred to a rich living. If these be the steps to preferment," said Mr. Cromwell, "what may we expect?"* On the next day there was again a great commotion in the House on the subject of the increase of Popery, and the discovery of a college of priests at Clerkenwell. Sir John Eliot made another attack upon Bishop Neile and the Lord Treasurer, but the Speaker, acting under the King's orders, refused to put to the vote a question involving their censure. The House, excited beyond measure, demanded the putting of the question. The Speaker still refused, and said that he had a command from the King to adjourn. Whereupon, while he is forcibly held in the chair, the House, amidst the greatest confusion, votes:—Whosoever shall bring in innovation of religion, or, by favour and countenance, seem to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinion disagreeing from the truth and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. Then followed two resolutions declaring Tonnage and Poundage, not voted by Parliament, illegal, and any merchant who paid it a betrayer of his country. The King sent for the Sergeant of the House, but he was not suffered to go out. Then the Gentleman-usher of the Lord's House was sent, but he was refused admittance till the votes were read. It was evident that the Commons had made up their minds to carry their point at any cost. Instantly on their

Great excitement in the House.

* Rushworth, i., 655.

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Parliament dissolved.

proceedings becoming known, the Parliament was dissolved by the King, and no less than nine of the leading members of the Commons summoned to appear before the council.*

About this time there was found in the yard of the Dean of St. Paul's, a paper on which was written, "Laud, look to thyself, be assured thy life is sought; as thou art the fountain of wickedness, repent of thy monstrous sins before thou be taken out of the world; and assure thyself neither God nor the world can endure such a vile counsellor and whisperer to live."† At the same time appeared a book written by Leighton, a Scotch doctor of physic and divinity, denouncing death against all bishops, and branding the Queen as an idolatress, a Canaanite, &c. The unfortunate author was seized, and barbarously mutilated, and the sight of him, with cropped ears and slit nose, would not be likely to conduce towards the allaying of the popular discontent.‡ Already the hearts of men in

Dr. Leighton's barbarous punishment.

* Rushworth, i., 660—1. † *Ib.*, i., 662.

‡ Dr. Leighton's book was intensely scurrilous, but his punishment was so horrible that every one's sympathy went with him. He was not tried in the Star Chamber till June 4, 1630, and it being then necessary to degrade him from his orders before he could be corporally punished, his sentence was not given till November. He then escaped from the Fleet, but was recaptured in Bedfordshire, and underwent his sentence.—Rushworth, ii., 55, 56. Rushworth thus particularises the fearful sentence. Friday, November 16: Partof Leighton's sentence was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace of Westminster, in term-time—

(1.) He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory.

(2.) Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off.

(3.) One side of his nose slit.

(4.) Branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S.S., signifying a stirrer up of sedition, and afterwards taken again

England, who loved their Church and King, must have quailed at the reckless impolicy which was precipitating a crisis charged with terrible danger. Civil oppression and illegal exactions, of which Churchmen were the principal advisers, served to invest the Church with an unpopularity not arising from its own constitution or working; the patriot and Puritan were by the circumstances of the case fused into one, and the cuckoo cry of Popery and Arminianism was in the mouths of men who merely used theological antipathies as an engine of power, to wrestle down the absolute pretensions which were hostile to their civil rights.

prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody. And on that day seven night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, *being not yet cured*, he was whipped again at the pillory of Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of his nose, and branding the other cheek." This is, most unjustifiably, quoted by Rushworth as from Laud's Diary. There is nothing in the Diary except the bare notice of the fact that Leighton underwent his sentence.

CHAPTER XII.

Chap. XII. 1629. Personal sketches of eminent Churchmen: Bishop Williams—Dr. Preston—George Herbert—Nicholas Ferrar—Sanderson—Hammond—The Literary Society at Great Tew—Chillingworth—Heylin—Mede—Jackson—Whately—Samuel Clarke.

FROM the hot and busy strife of Parliament, and the perplexed entanglements of Court policy, it is pleasant to turn aside to the green fields and shady bye-paths of private life. Let us not suppose that the Court bishops represented the Church of England, or that the intriguing and self-seeking of some prominent men, is a faithful image of the spirit which animated the great body of the English clergy. There was something corrupting and enervating in the atmosphere of the Court, and the nearness to the fountain-head of power. How different, for instance, was Bishop Williams when in his great place of Lord Keeper: he was full of hollow flatteries and mean intrigues, and, in spite of all, "the most generally abominated,"* according to the testimony of Lord Clarendon; and when in

Bishop Williams.

* Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 39: Oxf. Ed., 1843.

his diocese he was dispensing splendid hospitality at Buckden, or visiting the saintly Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding. No sooner had he arrived, sorely against his will, at his see, than he found plenty of matters to engage his attention, much more befitting his character than presiding in the Court of Chancery. The great episcopal house at Buckden was almost in ruins. Williams at once set to work to repair and improve it. Around his residence he laid out gardens and pleasure-grounds, and refused no expense in filling them with the choicest shrubs and flowers. In his chapel he introduced the most elaborate musical service, the Bishop himself taking a tenor part in the choir. Every day noble guests were entertained at his table, but he also "seldom sat to meat without some of the clergy, and commonly a covey."* During dinner a chorister read a chapter out of the English version of the Bible, and at supper one of his gentlemen read one in the Latin language. From Cambridge he was daily visited by the leading scholars and divines of the University, who all found a hearty welcome at his palace. His munificence was so great that he yearly spent nearly £1,200 in charity, and besides this could find the funds for re-purchasing manors that had been alienated from the see, repairing the old palace at Lincoln, beginning the noble collection of books which is in the cathedral library, and building a new chapel for Lincoln College, in Oxford, of which he was visitor, and which "society then flourished with men of rare and extraordinary learn-

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* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 31.

Chap. XII. ing."* In the administration of his diocese, Bishop Williams was mild and politic, and tried rather to reduce the Puritans by the weapons of common sense and argument, than by the sharp censures of the Court of High Commission.

Dr. Preston. The divines of this stamp were not, indeed, all affected with that narrow and crabbed littleness of mind, which has served to make their faction so contemptible. Dr. Preston, who died about this time, was distinguished as a preacher and a scholar, "a fine gentleman and a complete courtier," (says Neal) a man who could command the rare self-denial requisite to refuse a bishopric,† who could bear the fullest sunshine of the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, and contentedly acquiesce in its capricious withdrawal. Mr. Preston, when Fellow of Queen's, had astonished and delighted King James by maintaining the strange thesis that a hound is capable of reasoning, and makes syllogisms in tracking the hare or fox. For suppose, says the ingenious disputant, a hound comes to a place where three ways meet, he smells one way and the other, but not finding the scent, runs full cry down the third, concluding that the hare not being gone either of the two first ways, must necessarily be gone by the third. In his teaching, Mr. Preston affected the very style and language of Calvin, and he was so much admired that Convocation was obliged to pass a decree that none should be suffered to attend his lectures except members of his own college. "He was," says Fuller, "the greatest pupil-monger in Eng-

* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 35. † Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 169.

land in man's memory, having sixteen fellow-commoners (most heirs to fair estates) admitted in one year at Queen's College." When he was chosen Master of Emanuel, in 1622, he was still under forty, and he was then made D.D. He carried most of his pupils from Queen's to Emanuel with him, and as Master of Emanuel, he kept up the reputation of that house as the most Puritanical in the University.* He was equally popular in the town as in the University, and on one occasion being about to preach, and forbidden to do so by the commissary of the Bishop of Ely, he was almost forced by the congregation to disobey, an offence for which he had afterwards to apologise to the King. James suffered him to preach before him at Newmarket, and as "he had a fluent speech, a commanding voice, and a strong memory,"† he performed this with great applause, the King being pleased with his attacks upon the Arminians, who at that time were in his bad books. At the death of James he was at the utmost pinnacle of favour, the Duke of Buckingham being then desirous to court the Puritans. He came up with the young King and the great Duke "in a close coach, to London."‡ He used his interest in assisting many silenced ministers, and when he died at the early age of 41, in spite of his having had much of the wisdom of the serpent,§ he left behind him the reputation of an honest man. Chap. XII.

George Herbert.

From this favourable specimen of a divine of the

* Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 94.
† Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 170. ‡ *Ibid.* § Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*, b. xi.

Chap. XII. Puritanical school, let us turn to one whose temper, habits, and tone of mind, were in more true accordance with the spirit of our Church, and glance at the beautiful character of the holy George Herbert. Of a noble family, and occupying at a very early age the high office of public orator at Cambridge, the friend of Bacon and Bishop Andrewes,* he "had many conflicts with himself whether he should choose the painted pleasures of a Court life or betake himself to a study of divinity and enter into sacred orders; but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at the altar." † He acquainted a Court friend with this resolution, who dissuaded him from it as "too mean an employment." This, however, did not deter him. About 1626, he was ordained deacon, and presented by Bishop Williams to the Prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln. This appears to have been no very eligible piece of preferment. The church had been lying in ruins for twenty years, and there was either lack of spirit or of means to restore it. Mr. Herbert, however, took the matter in hand, "and saw it finished as it now stands, being for the workmanship a costly mosaic, for the form an exact cross, and for the decency and beauty the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscoted, as to be exceeded by none; and by his order the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; he would often say that

* *Walton's Life;* Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 15.
† *Ibid.*, p. 17.

prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour."* This prebend was not, however, accompanied with the cure of souls; Mr. Herbert still remained a deacon, and wore "his sword and silk clothes."† It was not until he had fasted and prayed often, and considered long, that he would take upon himself the responsibilities of the priesthood and a parish. At length, being convinced by Bishop Laud, when on a visit at Wilton, that his irresolution was sinful, he accepted the Living of Bemerton, about a mile from Salisbury, and devoted the remainder of his life to the care of his flock. When he was inducted, his friends, looking through the church-window, saw him prostrate before the altar; "at which time he set certain rules to himself for the management of his life, and then and there made a vow to keep them."‡ The remainder of his life, says his biographer, is "an almost incredible story of his great sanctity."§ He was himself the most perfect exemplar of his own *Country Parson*. His first sermon he delivered "in a most florid manner, with great learning and eloquence,"‖ and then told his flock that this would not be his constant way of preaching, but one of a more plain and practical character. The texts for his future sermons were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day, and he made it his practice to explain the collects and the different parts of the Church service, pointing out the principles which guided the compilers of

* Walton's *Herbert;* Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 19.
† *Ibid.*, p. 28. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 26. § *Ibid.* ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Chap. XII. the Liturgy, in order that his people might pray with the understanding as well as with the tongue. "If he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service, and of those ministers who huddled up the Church prayers without a visible reverence and affection."* Twice every day did he appear with his family at the service of the Church; and when Mr. Herbert's saints'-bell rang to prayers, the ploughman in the fields would stop a moment in his work, and send up some short devotion to the God whom his beloved pastor was then employed in worshipping. His wife was his active steward to dispense his charity, to which he set no limits, "nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want."† Too soon, alas! his weak body was worn out by his devout soul. He sank gradually; being supported in his decay by the sympathy and prayers of a kindred spirit, Mr. Ferrar, of Little Gidding, and of the neighbouring clergy, including the bishop and prebendaries of the cathedral church, who frequently visited him. To Mr. Ferrar he entrusted for publication his book of divine songs called *The Temple*, which has cheered so many Christian souls since its devout author penned it, so that it may well be said of this holy man, "He being dead, yet speaketh."

Nicholas Ferrar.

Ferrar, the friend of Herbert, was well described by one of his biographers as the "com-

* Walton's *Herbert*; Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 37.
† *Ibid*, p. 41.

plete Church of England man." We shall search in vain for a more charming character, or a more interesting history than his. The son of a wealthy London merchant, who was distinguished for piety and good deeds,* Nicholas Ferrar passed with credit through Cambridge, though the weakness of his health interfered with his studies; and having taken his Master's Degree and obtained the Physic Fellowship at Clare Hall, he proceeded on his travels. For five years he wandered through Italy and Spain, meeting with many strange adventures, and collecting a treasure of works of art, MSS. and books, "having a principal eye to those which treated the subjects of a spiritual life, devotion, and religious retirement."† He returned to his own country just in time to assist his brother in managing the affairs of the Virginia Company, and so great aptitude did he show for business, that he was himself soon chosen deputy-governor of the company. In this character he had to contend against the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, who, by means of bribes and his great power with the weak and unprincipled King James,‡ was labouring to overthrow the company. In spite of Ferrar's gallant stand the patent was revoked, but the true-hearted champion of right and justice had

* Mr. Ferrar, the father, repaired and beautified the Church of St. Benet Sherehog at his own expense, and was a most liberal encourager of every good work.

† Peckard's *Life of Ferrar;* Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 145.

‡ "When Mr. Ferrar was first elected governor, he was soon convinced of the unbounded influence of Gondomar, of the King's astonishing infatuation, and of his total disregard of truth and justice."—Peckard's *Life of Ferrar.*

Chap. XII. afterwards the satisfaction of taking a leading part in the prosecution of the Lord-Treasurer Cranfield, and witnessing his justly-deserved disgrace. In the midst of his commercial and political business, however, Nicholas Ferrar never let go for a moment his fixed purpose of entering religious retirement. He refused to marry; and his mother, who had a large estate, being now willing to accompany him to the country, they purchased the lordship of Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire, and retired thither.* At this place, as in Herbert's first preferment, the church was in ruins and used as a barn, and the parish depopulated. Their first care was to restore the church.† Then Mr. Ferrar having been ordained Deacon by Bishop Laud, the plan of his little religious colony was arranged. The family consisted of about forty persons, who were all employed in some religious work, and expected to spend a certain portion of the day and night in the oratories. The Psalms were so arranged as to be recited by each during the twenty-four hours. Twice a day they went to church in procession, each making a low obeisance on entering and taking up the appointed places, and four times more to

* 1625.

† The same arrangement was here used as by Herbert. The pulpit and reading-desk were on the same level. There were two sets of furniture or hangings—for week-days, of green; for festivals, of rich blue cloth, decorated with lace and silver fringe. The font, lectern, and reredos were of brass, highly wrought. On the communion-table were patin, chalice, and candlesticks, of silver. In the candlesticks, large wax candles, and many more of the same sort in the church. There was a gallery at the bottom of the church for the organ.—Peckard's *Life of Ferrar*.

family devotions. More than a hundred school- Chap. XII.
children were regularly instructed by three schoolmasters, and, on Sundays, fed at the house; and the young ladies, Mr. Ferrar's nieces, were instructed in medicine that they might be useful to all the neighbouring poor. Athletic games were allowed for the young, while Mr. Ferrar employed himself in literary labours, constructing Harmonies of the Old and New Testaments, copies of which were presented to and much valued by King Charles. On two occasions, their diocesan, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, visited Little Gidding, attended service with them and preached. He gave his full sanction to all their ceremonial and arrangements. The Puritans, of course, accused them of Popery, and called the house the Arminian Nunnery, but the establishment appears to have been free from superstitious practices and only "devoutly given to good works." There were comfortable rooms provided, in which poor widows were lodged; and, to use the words of one of Puritanical principles, who visited them that he might inspect their proceedings, "I find them full of humanity and humility. And others speak as well of their charity, which I also verily believe. And, therefore, am far from censuring them of whom I think much better than of myself." *

While Nicholas Ferrar was practising devotional exercises at Little Gidding, Robert Sanderson, a name holding a foremost rank in the long list of Robert Sanderson.

* Mr. Lenton's letter to Sir T. Hetley; Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 251.

Chap. XII. worthies of the English Church, was working as the active and beloved parish-priest of Boothby Pagnel, in Lincolnshire. Puritan disputatiousness was overcome by his earnest and devout labours of love. He either found or made his parishioners peaceable, "and he, his patron, and his parish lived together in a religious love."* He made it his practice to visit his parishioners at their homes, inquire into their affairs, give them counsel and assistance; to interfere between the rich and the poor, and to follow peace with all men. In this contented obscurity he lived till Bishop Laud "told the King that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity and so excellent in all points of casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty would take so much notice of him as to make him his chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the bishop charge to hasten it, for he longed to discourse with a man who had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning."† Such was the introduction of Sanderson to the King, who afterwards so much valued him that he used to say, "I carry my ears to other preachers, but my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderson."

Henry Hammond.

Side by side with Robert Sanderson we would range another parish priest of kindred spirit, who afterwards, like Sanderson, rose to a foremost place in the estimation of all good men. Henry Hammond was presented to the living of Penshurst by the Earl of Leicester, who was deeply

* Walton's *Sanderson*; Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 412.
† *Ib.*, p. 415.

affected by a sermon which he heard him preach, and "from the scholastic retirements of an University life applied himself to the more busy entertainments of a rural privacy. In the discharge of his ministerial function he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only—a performance wherein some of late have fancied all religion to consist—but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administering the Sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechizing the youth. The office of prayer he had in his church every day in the week, and twice on Saturdays and holiday eves, and at those devotions he took order that his family should give diligent and exemplary attendance. As to the administration of the Sacrament, he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month, and therewith its anciently inseparable appendant, the offertory, wherein his instruction and example so far prevailed that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. For the relief of the poor, besides the forementioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receipts, and the daily alms given at the door, he constantly set apart over and above a certain rate in money, and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two-and-fifty quarter days in his year. He that was thus liberal to the necessitous poor was no less hos-

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pitable to those of better quality, and as at other times he frequently invited his neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundays, which seldom passed at any time without bringing some of them his guests. He knew well how much the application at the table enforced the docrines of the pulpit, how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans and sinners, and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of disciples. For the instruction of youth in the rudiments of piety, his custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening prayer in catechizing, whereat the parents and elder sort were wont to be present, and from whence, as he with comfort used to say, they reaped more benefit than from his sermons. He provided also an able schoolmaster for the parish, and was not negligent of the material fabric committed to his trust, but repaired, with very great expense, his parsonage-house, till, from an incommodious ruin, he had rendered it a fair and pleasant dwelling, with the adherent conveniences of gardens and orchards."*

The literary society at Great Tew.

Contemporary with these excellent divines was probably the acutest disputant whom our Church has produced in any time. The mention of Chillingworth introduces us to the charming sketch of literary society which is found in the pages of Lord Clarendon, and in which he himself took a part. At the house of Lucius Carey (better known as Lord Falkland) some ten or twelve miles from Oxford, there was to be met a little university of

* Fell's *Life of Hammond.*

learned men.* There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Moseley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, and Mr. Chillingworth, "who all found their lodgings there (at Great Tew) as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming and going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent book against the learned Jesuit, Mr. Nott, after frequent debates upon the most important particulars: in many of which he suffered himself to be overruled by the judgment of his friends, though in others he still adhered to his own fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest points."† This sin-

Chillingworth.

* Of the noble friend of these divines and scholars, Sir J. Suckling thus writes:—

"He was of late so gone with divinity,
That he had almost forgot his poetry,
Though to say the truth (and Apollo did know it)
He might have been both his priest and his poet."

Wood's *Athenæ*, ii., 567.

M. Guizot thus eloquently comments on these gatherings:—"Here neither sects nor parties were formed, but free and vigorous opinions. Unshackled by selfish interests or projects, drawn together solely by the pleasure of exchanging ideas, and stimulating each other to generous sentiments, the men who took part in these meetings debated without constraint, and each sought only truth and justice."—*Hist. Revolution*, p. 57. Trans.

† Life of Lord Clarendon, *Works*, p. 926. Oxf. ed., 1843.

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gular man was of so great a subtlety of understanding, and so rare a temper in debate, that, as it was impossible to provoke him to any passion, so it was very difficult to keep a man's self from being a little discomposed by his sharpness and quickness of argument. He had with his notable perfection in disputation contracted such an irresolution and habit of doubting, that by degrees he grew confident of nothing, and a sceptic, at least, in the greatest mysteries of faith."* This made him waver in his profession, and at last led him to the Church of Rome. But he did not long remain a Romanist. Quickly fathoming the shallowness and falsity of that system, and perceiving the vanity of their pretended claim to infallibility, after a considerable season of perplexity, he again returned to the Communion of the Church of England, and wrote against the Romanists his great work, the *Religion of Protestants*, perhaps the most dexterous piece of controversial writing of which our language can boast. In this treatise the author takes a much more large and liberal view than was commonly taken by controversial writers in that age. He contends "that there is no reason why among men of different opinions and communions one side only can be saved;" that the fundamental points contained in the creed are the only ones absolutely necessary to be held; that all controversies are to be judged by Scripture alone; that Protestants are not guilty of schism or heresy in separating from the Romish Church. It is evident that the acute mind of

* Life of Lord Clarendon, *Works*, p. 930. Oxf. ed., 1843.

Chillingworth perceived distinctly that the more the Romanist could be tied to the very letter of Scripture, the more hopelessly without foundation would all his superstitious inventions be shown to be. Thus this treatise is more argumentative and less constantly referring to the authorities of the Fathers and Schoolmen than those, for instance, of Field or Crakanthorp, and in close logical reasoning, and unanswerable deductions from Scripture premises it can hardly be surpassed.* Chap. XII.

Chillingworth's mind seems more of the tone of the nineteenth century than the seventeenth, but we will now glance at the personal history of a man who was in every sense a "representative man" of Peter Heylin.

* Mr. Hallam thus criticizes the *Religion of Protestants:* "He perceived the insecurity of resting the Reformation on any but its original basis, the independency of private opinion. This, too, he asserted with a fearlessness and consistency hitherto little known, even within the Protestant pale; combining it with another principle which the zeal of the early reformers had made them unable to perceive, and for want of which the adversary had perpetually discomfited them, namely, that the errors of conscientious men do not forfeit the favour of God. This endeavour to mitigate the dread of forming mistaken judgments in religion, runs through the whole work of Chillingworth, and marks him as the founder in this country of what has been called the Latitudinarian school of theology. In this view, which has practically been the most important one of the controversy, it may pass for an anticipated reply to the most brilliant performance on the opposite side, the *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches;* and those who are led to these two masterpieces, will have seen perhaps the utmost strength that either party in the great schism of Christendom has been able to put forth."—*Constitutional History*, i., 486.

From Chillingworth we ought not to separate his friend, and one so much resembling him as the "ever-memorable" John Hales. It seemed, however, more apposite to introduce a sketch of Hales in connection with his famous interview with Archbishop Laud in 1638, which will be found below.

Chap. XII. his day, and a fair specimen of the school of Laud and Montagu. This is Peter Heylin. Born at Burford, in 1599, he was admitted, at the age of fifteen, into the wealthy society of Magdalen College, Oxford, and soon began to distinguish himself by his talents. At the age of twenty-two, he published a geography, at a passage in which King James took great offence, the writer having ventured to give the precedency to the French king over the English. This, however, was happily explained away; and Heylin, now in orders, soon afterwards attracted the notice of Laud by maintaining a very High-Church thesis in the Oxford schools, and venturing to praise Bellarmine, to the intense indignation of Dr. Prideaux, the Divinity Professor. Laud found him a man after his own heart, and determined to promote him. But the first attempts were unfortunate. He was presented to the living of Meysey-Hampton, but the title was doubtful, and the Bishop of Gloucester instituted the nominee of Corpus Christi College. He was then presented by the King to the Benefice of Heminford, in Huntingdonshire, and posted down to Bishop Williams for institution. The bishop, however, would not allow that the King had any title to the living, and poor Mr. Heylin had to return back *re infectâ*. Upon hearing this, the King, who had already made him his chaplain, gave him a prebend at Westminster, of which church the Bishop of Lincoln was dean; and in this capacity he afterwards had ample opportunity for revenging the slight which had been put upon him at Buckden. Soon afterwards

he obtained the living of Alresford by exchange. Heylin was a man of great talent, and of a daring spirit. He was one of the cleverest and most caustic writers of the day. His life was devoted to doing battle against Puritanism in every form and shape, and a terrible scourge did he prove himself to all who favoured such views. He was the first who thoroughly exposed the attempt which the Puritans were quietly making to strengthen their party, by means of a Corporation of Feoffees to buy up impropriations, and thus to promote men of their own views. He declaimed, in a sermon, against their plan of "planting pensionary lecturers in so many places where it needs not, and upon days of common labour, which will at last bring forth those fruits that will appear a tare indeed, though now no wheat be accounted fairer. For what is that which is most aimed at in it, but to cry down the standing clergy of this kingdom, to undermine the public Liturgy by law established, and to have ready sticklers in every place for the advancement of some dangerous and deep design. For what are those entrusted in the managing of this business? Are they not the chief patrons of this growing faction? And will they not in time have more preferments to bestow than all the bishops of the kingdom? And so, by consequence, a greater number of dependents to promote their interest?"* This sharp attack led soon after to Chap. XII.

* *Life of Dr. Heylin*, pp. 55—57. These Feoffees were twelve in number—"four divines," says Fuller, "to persuade men's consciences; four lawyers, to draw all conveyances; and four citizens, who commanded rich coffers. They were legally

Chap. XII. the suppression of the Corporation of Feoffees in the Exchequer Chamber. It was Dr. Heylin who was chosen to draw up the articles against Bishop Williams, and to enforce them with his personal advocacy, as it was also his ready pen which answered the bishop's *Treatise on the Holy Table*. It was Dr. Heylin who was put forward to combat the Puritanical views on the Sabbath, and to uphold the doctrine of the *Book of Sports*. We read the utmost efforts of his antipathy in his *History of the Presbyterians*, and admire the elaborate tribute of his gratitude in his *Life of Laud*.

Joseph Mede. The entire opposite to Peter Heylin in character, disposition, and tastes—a man more profoundly learned than Chillingworth, and of the devout spirit of George Herbert—was Joseph Mede, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. This great man, though tempted by high offers, would not quit the retirement of his cell, as he loved to call his college rooms. There, on the ground floor, under the Library, that he might not be disturbed by noise over his head, lived and laboured the profound

settled to purchase an impropriation, and with their profits to set up and maintain a constant preaching ministry in places of greatest need, where the word was most wanting. It is incredible what large sums were advanced in a short time, towards so laudable an employment. There are, indeed, in England, of parish church, 9,284 endowed with glebe and tithes. But of these 3,845 were either appropriated to bishops, cathedrals, or colleges, or impropriated as lay-fees to private persons, as formerly belonging to abbeys. The redeeming and restoring these latter was the Feoffees' design, and it was verily believed within fifty years rather purchases than money would have been wanting to them, buying them generally as candle-rents at, or under, twelve years' valuation."—Fuller, *Church History*, xi., ii., 5.

divine and scholar for more than thirty years. No mere bookworm was he, but a most pains-taking and successful tutor, a useful and active member of the University, much interested in foreign affairs, and carrying on a correspondence with learned men of many lands. A man of singular charity and sweetness of disposition, who hated controversial strife, and shrank from it utterly; temperate, modest, and frugal in his habits, and out of his small income regularly devoting the tenth part to charitable purposes. Mede was not elected Fellow till after he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, having been strangely passed by at elections; Dr. Carey, then Master of his College, "entertaining a very causeless jealousy of him that he looked too much towards Geneva." The College, however, having received secret intelligence that a stranger had obtained a mandamus for a fellowship,* either fallen or falling, proceeded in all haste to elect Mr. Mede in order to anticipate the intrusion, and assuredly had no cause to regret the election. He had become known to "that oracle of learning, and protector of learned men, Bishop Andrewes," who wished him to become his chaplain, but he preferred the independence of a college life. Like Chillingworth, he was at one time tortured by sceptical doubts, which were soon, however, mercifully removed; and henceforth, though he paid attention to other subjects, he gave his principal care and

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* This was often done. Thus we found Laud *recommending* no less a man than Jeremy Taylor to All Souls.—Laud's letter to warden of All Souls, Works, vol. vi. See Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 206.

Chap. XII. labour to the study of theology. Astrology, at one time, engaged much of his attention, and he was "a curious and laborious searcher of antiquities, Ethnick, Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan;" but his great labours were on the Apocalypse and the interpretation of prophecy—on which difficult subjects he was thought to have attained a high degree of success, though many of his contemporaries objected to his millennial views. He has left a body of learned and pious sermons, which are good specimens of the profound theology and exhaustive handling of a subject peculiar to the seventeenth century. It is probable, however, that Mede never could have shone as a preacher, on account of an impediment in his speech, with which he was afflicted. He modestly refused the offer of the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin; and was of so retiring a disposition, that in company he would let others, who were far shallower than himself, engross the conversation, while he appeared as a meek and humble listener. His character for meekness was so well known, that unprincipled men did not hesitate to take advantage of it. There was one in Cambridge to whom he had lent a sum of money. This man being applied to for repayment, quietly answered that Mr. Mede had no right to what he claimed. "No right?" answered he. "No right," was the audacious reply; "because he was none of God's children: for that they only have right who are gracious in God's sight." It seems that the brazen-faced Puritan was allowed to triumph, and retain the money; but at any rate

he furnished the man whom he had wronged with a good story, which he was fond of telling. Mede was so regular in his habits, that he was scarce ever absent from the College-hall; and so temperate, that the wine he drank at the Communion was usually more than he drank all the year besides. He was of a very reverential turn of mind, and had great zeal for "church decorum," but was very charitable towards all, especially the foreign Protestant churches. His death was sudden, and hastened by the ignorance of the apothecary; but he ended his life with extreme devotion, and was carried to his resting-place in the College Chapel by his brother Fellows, a noble example of a humble, learned, and faithful son of the Church of England.*

Dr. Thomas Jackson.

The firm friend of Joseph Mede was Dr. Jackson, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the "ornament of the University in his time," says Wood, "a man profoundly read in the Fathers, and of a wonderful and deep judgment." Dr. Jackson was at first inclined to Puritanical principles, but was drawn off from them by Bishops Neile and Laud, who managed to procure his election to the presidency of his college. He had the honour to be praised, and the still greater honour to be afterwards abused and denounced, by the Puritan Prynne. A notice of the writings of Dr. Jackson will be found in another place. We will here only mention a few personal traits illus-

* This account of Joseph Mede is taken from the life prefixed to Dr. Worthington's edition of his works.

Chap. XII. trative of his character. An extraordinary escape from drowning when he was young had made a deep impression upon him, and added to the natural seriousness of his character. So devout was he that whenever in his rounds as college bursar, he arrived at a house, he always retired for a short space to his devotions before he attended to business. Having left Corpus for the post of Vicar of Newcastle, he became excessively endeared to his parishioners by his piety, simplicity, and liberality. He was soon, however, brought back to the University, by being chosen president of his college. Here he ruled with extraordinary success. He was obliging, kind, and gentle, and tried rather to awaken men's consciences than to coerce them with strict discipline. He showed a most laudable disinterestedness with regard to preferment, refusing it even when pressed upon him. He lived contented with his college and learned labours, like his friend, Joseph Mede, at Cambridge. He thought much of the signs of the times, and seemed to some of his friends to be inspired with the spirit of prophecy, so exactly did he predict the troubles of Church and State.*

William Whately.

Another friend of Joseph Mede's, but of a different turn of mind from Dr. Jackson, was William Whately, Vicar of Banbury. He was the most eloquent preacher of the day. Residents in Oxford did not think it too much trouble to go more than twenty miles to hear him preach, so great was the

* *Life of Dr. Jackson*, by a Fellow of Corpus, prefixed to his works.

fame of his oratory. It is recorded of this good man that he, like Mede, always laid aside the tenth of his income for charitable uses. Being, however, Calvinistic in his views, he was considered dangerous by the Laudian bishops. "The Bishop of Worcester certifies that he is less troubled with Nonconformists since Mr. Whately, of Banbury, gave over his lecture at Stratford, within that diocese."* But Mr. Whately had nothing of the narrow-minded Puritan in his character. He was pre-eminently an earnest man. Chap. XII.

A more decided Puritan was Mr. Samuel Clarke, Vicar of Alcester, and afterwards preacher at St. Benet Fink, the account of whose ministrations, as recorded by himself, well illustrates the work of some of the more popular Puritan divines. He began his labours in the neighbourhood of Shotwick, in a district marked out by natural boundaries. "That country is about fourteen miles long, and five broad. There were divers godly and understanding Christians scattered up and down in it: scarce a constant preacher but myself, so that as my means of maintenance came by a voluntary contribution out of all these Christian purses, so all of them within six or seven miles' compass, repaired to my ministry, both young and old, men and women, wet and dry, summer and winter, to their very great pains and labour; spending the time between sermons in repetition, singing of psalms, and godly conference. And as Samuel Clarke.

* Note to Wood's *Athenæ*, ii., 638. See *Life of Mede*, in Worthington's edition.

Chap. XII. they took extraordinary pains for the word, so they highly prized it, and much profited by it. I also set up monthly sacraments, and we enjoyed much sweet liberty and communion in the same. And besides the public ordinances, we had once in three weeks ordinarily a day of conference, unto which repaired the professors, both men and women, out of all the country, and this meeting was held by turns at all the richer men's houses. In the morning when they first met, the master of the family began with prayer, then was the question to be conferred of read, and the younger Christians first gave in their answers, together with their proofs of Scripture for them, and then the more experienced Christians gathered up the other answers which were omitted by the former, and thus they continued till dinner-time, when, having a good provision made for them by the master of the family, they dined together with much cheerfulness. After dinner, having sung a psalm, they returned to their conference upon the other questions (which were three in all) till towards the evening, at which time as the master of the family began, so he concluded with prayer, and I gave them three new questions against their next meeting, which being appointed for time and place, every one repaired to his own home. The benefits which came by these days of conference were many and great. Hereby knowledge was increased, so that I was never acquainted with more understanding Christians in all my life, though the best of them went in russet coats, and followed husbandry." This Mr. Clarke

was afterwards prosecuted in the Chancellor's Court, and obliged to relinquish his useful labours. He then ministered as a lecturer both at Coventry and Warwick, the Vicars of both places being violently hostile to him, and delating him to the bishops; but by virtue of Archbishop Abbot's license, which he held, he was able to escape with impunity. He next was made Vicar of Alcester, where, according to his own account, he worked a wonderful moral reformation; and, lastly, was elected lecturer of St. Benet Fink. Though a Puritan, he appears to have been loyal in his views, and, though persecuted, he says "I durst not separate from the Church of England, nor was satisfied about gathering a private Church out of a true Church, as I judge the Chuch of England to be."*

Such were some of the men who were labouring in the Universities and country cures of England, while hot-headed bishops were contending with Puritanical members of Parliament, and, by an undue intermeddling in the affairs of State, rapidly involving the Church in all the odium belonging to a tyrannical government. The English clergy had already made a great step in advance of the degraded condition of their order, which followed the Reformation-era,† and might have won and maintained the respect and affection of the nation, had it not been for the Neiles, the Harsenets, and the Mainwarings, whom, unhappily, the King delighted to honour.

* Clarke's Life by himself, prefixed to his *Lives*.

† "There was a growing number of like-minded men in England, all known to each other, and in correspondence with each other."—Masson's *Milton*, i., 368.

CHAPTER XIII.

Chap. XIII. 1629. Proclamation against speaking of a new Parliament—Abuses in the Church—Laud's considerations—The King's injunctions—Jealousy of lecturers—Their influence—General discontent at the injunctions—Laud, Chancellor of Oxford—Bishop Davenant censured—Exact uniformity of doctrine sought—System of espionage—Second great emigration to New England—Severities at Oxford—The restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral began—Laud consecrates St. Catherine's church—His impolicy—His zeal to help the poorer clergy—Their poverty—Sir B. Rudyer's speech in 1628—The "Collection of St. Antholins" dissolved—Case of Mr. Henry Sherfield—The injustice of forced recantations—Laud all-powerful in promoting bishops—He makes rules for English settlements on the Continent—For conformity of the foreign Churches in England—The Church affairs of Scotland from 1610 to 1633—Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury.



O meet the remonstrance which had been agreed upon by the Commons, a declaration was published to the country explaining the reasons of the dissolution of the late Parliament. This was the work of Laud. In spite, however, of the King's charges against his Commons, and his proofs of their unreasonableness and turbulent demeanour, people still presumed to talk, and to say that the King must needs again soon summon a Parliament

in order to carry on the government. Such presumptuous talking was now therefore censured by a proclamation, in which it was declared that Parliament would not be summoned again until the "people should see more clearly into the King's intents and actions."* Bishop Laud, vexed and harassed by his struggle with the Commons, who (as he says in his diary) "had sought his destruction," had fallen into a violent fever, and was brought to a very low and weak state.† But even during the weakness of his body his active mind was planning vigorous measures of reform, and the first blow he determined to direct against the lax practices of his own order. "He saw," says Heylin, "the Church decaying both in power and patrimony: her patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several bishops, in making havoc of their woods to enrich themselves; and in filling up their grants and leases to their utmost term after they had been nominated to some other bishopric, to the great wrong of their successors. Her power he found diminished partly by the bishops themselves, in leaving their dioceses unguarded, and living altogether about Westminster, to be in a more ready way for the next preferment; partly by the great increase of chaplains in the houses of many private gentlemen; but chiefly by the multitude of irregular lecturers, both in city and country, whose work it was to undermine as well the doctrine as the government of it."‡

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Proclamation against speaking of a new Parliament.

Abuses in the Church.

Accordingly, after consultation with Harsenet,

* Rushworth, ii., 3. † Heylin's *Laud*, p. 198. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 199.

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now Archbishop of York,* Laud presented to the King a paper of considerations which he recommended to be published and enforced. They were of a very strict and severe character, and it is probable that some more temperate advisers may have intervened in the matter, as the instructions of the King issued three months after, and embodying the substance of Laud's considerations, omitted some of the harsher clauses of the first draught. For instance, we do not find in the King's instructions the clause which Laud had penned, ordering the bishops into residence in their dioceses, and forbidding them to reside on their *commendams*.† Neither do we find any notice of the extraordinary recommendation, "That Emanuel and Sidney Colleges in Cambridge, which are the nurseries of Puritanism, may from time to time be providers of grave and orthodox men for their governors" (Consid. 9); nor of the 10 and 11 considerations respecting the High Commission and the judges' prohibitions.

The King's injunctions.

The King's instructions were as follows:—"That the lords the bishops give charge in their triennial visitations, and at other convenient times, both by themselves and the archdeacons, that the declaration for the settling of all questions in

* Mountain held the archbishopric only a few months. Harsenet had previously held three sees. He had been censured by the Parliament of 1616, and was a great foe to the Puritans.

† This is given in Heylin's copy, but not in Rushworth. Heylin, apparently, has made a confusion between the two documents. It is observable that in Laud's letter to his archdeacons, the references made are to his own paper of considerations, and not to the King's injunctions, as they were actually issued.—See Rushworth ii., 7, 30, 31.

difference be strictly observed by all parties. That there be a special care taken by them all, that their ordinations be solemn, and not of unworthy persons.* That they take great care concerning the lecturers in their several dioceses, for whom we give these special directions following:—(1.) That in all parishes the afternoon sermons be turned into catechizing by question and answer, where and whensoever there is not some great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable order.† (2.) That every bishop ordain in his diocese that every lecturer do read divine service, according to the liturgy printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, before the lecture. (3.) That where a lecture is set up in a market-town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox divines, near adjoining and in the same diocese, and that they preach in gowns, and not in cloaks, as too many do use. (4.) That if a corporation do maintain a single lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he profess his willingness to take upon himself a living with cure of souls within that corporation, and that he do actually take such benefice or cure so soon as it shall be fairly procured for him. (5.)

* In 1626, information was laid against Dr. Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, among other heinous charges, that he made "base fellows ministers, as a sexton, a decayed tradesman, an alehouse-keeper, a footman, a groom, a common apparitor, and a verger of a cathedral church."—*Tanner MSS.*, 72, 95.

† "In my youth I was quickly past my fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of controversies, but the older I grew, the smaller stress I laid upon these controversies; and now it is the fundamental doctrines of the catechism which I highliest value, and daily think of, and find most useful to myself and others."—Baxter's *Autobiography*.

Chap. XIII. 1629. That the bishops do countenance and encourage the grave and orthodox divines of their clergy, and that they use means by some of the clergy or others, that they may have knowledge how both lecturers and preachers, within their dioceses, behave themselves in their sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly. (6.) That the bishops suffer none under noblemen, and men qualified by law, to have any private chaplain in his house. (7.) That they take special care that divine service be diligently frequented, as well for prayers and catechisms,* as sermons; and take a particular note of all such as absent themselves, as recusants or otherwise. (8.) That every bishop who, by our grace and favour and good opinion of his service, shall be nominated by us to another bishopric, shall, from that day of nomination, not presume to make any lease for three lives or twenty-one years, or concurrent lease, or anywise to renew any estate, or cut any wood or timber, but merely to receive the rents due and quit the place, for we think it a hateful thing that any man's leaving the bishopric should almost undo the successor; and if any man shall presume to break this order, we will refuse our royal assent, and keep him at the place he hath so abused. (9.) Lastly, we command you to give us an account every year, on January 2, of the performance of these our commands."†

* "He made it his humble request that they would be constant to the afternoon's service and catechizing, and showed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires." —Walton's *Herbert*.

† Rushworth, ii., 30.

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These injunctions, modified as they are from Laud's original draught, nevertheless are somewhat damaging to the character of the bishops. The constant race after preferment made them not sufficiently tender of the interests of the sees of less value, which they hoped soon to quit, and too apt to provide themselves for the expenses of a translation, by an unfair forestalling of the profits of their successors. They also show us clearly enough in what quarter the great strength of the Puritanical opposition lay. Admission to any cure of souls necessitated subscription and conformity, but a lecturer was able to evade this, and thus most of the divines who were dissatisfied with the Church system, procured employment in that capacity. Handsomely paid by the Feoffees, for buying impropriations,* or by local subscriptions, and independent in great measure of Episcopal control, the lecturers formed a numerous and influential body, who were almost universally of strong Puritanical principles. Such men as Ward and Yates at Ipswich (the accusers of Richard Montagu), Preston at Cambridge, and Baxter at Bridgenorth, were the centres and supports of the cause in entire neighbourhoods, and hence the anxious desire manifested in these injunctions, either to discipline or to silence them. Archbishop Abbot (according to Heylin) was not pleased with the limitations concerning lecturers, contained in those injunctions, "for to them, as the chief sticklers in the Puritan cause, he was always favourable,"† and he soon

Jealousy of lecturers.

Their influence.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 209. † *Ib.*, p. 201.

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General discontent at the injunctions.

showed his opinions in a decided way. The Archdeacon of Canterbury informed against Mr. Palmer, a lecturer at St. Alphege, for divers irregularities, and specially for never having read prayers or used the surplice; and declared that "factious parties in all the parishes of the town were his auditors." Whereupon the commissioners ordered Mr. Palmer to desist, but they were soon informed that his grace the Archbishop had given Mr. Palmer leave to preach again.* Another lecturer, Mr. Bernard, of St. Sepulchre's, London, had been previously summoned before the Court for praying for the Queen's conversion, but on his making a humble submission he was dismissed. But if the Archbishop grumbled at his favourite lecturers being attacked, the country gentlemen were no less indignant at their domestic arrangements, as to keeping chaplains, being interfered with,† and all the bishops exclaimed with one voice at the intolerable hardship of being banished to their country residences.‡

Laud, Chancellor of Oxford.

To compensate Laud, however, for the storm of unpopularity which the royal injunctions brought upon him, there came to him in April this year the pleasing news that he had been elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and soon after, the

* Rushworth, ii., 34.

† "Nor were the chaplains better pleased than their masters were, for having lived upon hard commons, and, perhaps, under some smart discipline also, in their halls and colleges, they thought they had spent their studies to good purpose by finding ease and a full belly in these gentlemen's houses."—Heylin's *Laud*, 202.

‡ Heylin's *Laud*, 202.

Queen having been delivered of a son, the King paid him the high compliment of allowing him to baptize the infant, although this had been always esteemed the especial privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The King, indeed, seems ever to have regarded Laud with a real and sincere affection, and to have adopted his opinions in theological matters so completely, that any the least difference from them excited his indignation. Thus Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, who had been one of the English deputies at the Synod of Dort, preaching this Lent before the Court, ventured to enlarge somewhat on Predestination and Election. The King was much displeased at this boldness; infringing (it was said) his Majesty's Declaration lately prefixed to the Articles, in his own hearing. Bishop Davenant was informed by Archbishop Harsenet, Bishop Neile, and the Lord Chamberlain, that the King was very angry at his sermon, and he was summoned to attend the Council-table on the following Tuesday. The Bishop appears to have been overcome with terror at the summons. He presented himself on his knees, "and so," says Fuller, "had still continued, for any favour he found from any of his own function there present. But the temporal Lords bade him arise and stand to his own defence, being as yet only accused, not convicted."* "Then," says Davenant, "the Archbishop of York made a speech half-an-hour long aggravating the boldness of mine offence, and showing many inconveniences it was likely to draw

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Bishop Davenant censured.

* Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 15.

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after it."* The accused bishop defended himself by saying that he had only treated on the matter of Article XVII., but he was told, in reply, "that the *King's will* was that for the peace of the Church these high questions should be forborne."† Upon this, he answered that he was sorry that he had not understood his Majesty's intention, but he would conform to it in future. The Lords of the Council seem eagerly to have caught at these words, as a means of ending the unseemly dispute. They had been all the time sitting in silence while Harsenet had been seeking to justify his promotion by his violent oration, and Laud, the real mover in the whole matter, had been pacing up and down the room without speaking a word.‡ Bishop Davenant was dismissed, and the next day being admitted to kiss the King's hand, was told by the Bishop of London's royal pupil, that "he would not have this high point meddled with or debated one way or other, that it was too high for the people's understanding, and the points which concern reformation and newness of life, were more needful and profitable."§ Few will be disposed, probably, to cavil at the soundness of the King's sentiments, although it may excite the wonder of some to find him thus quietly assuming the functions of universal bishop.

Exact uniformity of doctrine sought.

Doctrine, however, must now be exactly squared and clipped to suit the Court pattern. Mr. Chancy, minister of Ware, for venturing to imply that

* Bishop Davenant's letter to Dr. Ward, in Fuller. † *Ib.*
‡ Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 15. § Davenant's letter.

some false views were creeping into the Church, was censured by his diocesan the Bishop of London, and the same exact prelate was so scandalized by an expression in the brief recommending charitable assistance to the poor distressed ministers of the Palatinate, that he caused the patent to be cancelled after it had passed the Great Seal, and a new one to be drawn, omitting the objectionable words, "which religion we together with them profess, and are all bound in conscience to maintain to the uttermost of our power."* The employment of espionage, by which alone such a system as that at which Laud aimed, could in any measure be upheld, had been plainly recommended by him in his Considerations addressed to the King, and that it was actually put in force we have the complaints of Bishop Williams and Bishop Hall† to testify. It was not an encouragement to bishops to reside on their sees to know that every action and word were liable to be reported and misinterpreted. Those who held Calvinistic views might be pretty sure that, upon some pretence or other, they would be soon brought on their knees before his Majesty, as the good Joseph Hall was no less than three times. Thus hypocrisy was set at a premium, and the road to honour was opened to base spirits who were willing to tone down their theology to suit the requirements of their superiors.‡

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System of espionage.

* Rushworth, ii., 34, 35.

† "I soon had intelligence who were set over me for my espials; my ways were curiously observed and scanned."—Hall's *Autobiography*.

‡ The order-loving soul of Laud busied itself in all matters

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But in no case does Laud appear to have had any regard to consequences. He went straight forward with the plan he adopted quite unmoved by its effects either on others or himself. His blows fell fast and frequent, and, under the violence of the storm, one or more Puritan ministers every week succumbed.* These began to see clearly that there was no alternative between adopting exactly the theology of the all-powerful prelate, or having to endure persecution or penalties in some form or other; rather than submit to which, they hesitated not to expatriate themselves to the bleak and untamed solitudes of New England.† The second great Puritan colony, that of Massachussets

The second great emigration to New England.

important and trivial. A proclamation was now published to those who came to the King to be touched for the King's Evil, in which the expression, "seeing that in this, as in all other things, order is to be observed, and fit times necessary to be appointed," evidently betrays the author. Easter and Michaelmas were the times fixed for the ceremony, and the prescribed religious order was as follows:—

(1.) A passage of the Gospel taken from Mark, xvi., "Jesus appeared to the Eleven," &c.

(2.) A passage of the Gospel from John, i., "In the beginning was the Word."

And as often as the King putteth the angel about their necks, these words to be repeated:—

"That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

After this, the Lord's Prayer and another prayer on behalf of the diseased, that they receiving health may give thanks to God.—Rushworth, ii., 48.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 175.

† "What numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops."—Milton, *Of Reformation*, b. ii.

Bay, was now struggling for existence in the new world. A little fleet of six sail of transports, provided with a few cannon, and about three hundred and fifty men, women, and children, had reached the shores of America on June 24, 1629, and in gratitude for their safe arrival, had given the place of their landing the name of Salem. They were accompanied by several of the deprived ministers. Mr. Skelton, a Lincolnshire minister, was chosen to be their pastor, Mr. Higginson, from Leicestershire, their teacher, and Mr. Houghton their ruling elder. They bound themselves by a solemn religious covenant, and prepared manfully for their work.* But the first winter, as usual, proved a terrible trial. Their teachers Higginson and Houghton, and above a hundred of the company, were carried off. Recruits, however, arrived rapidly. This summer the Governor of the Company, who had not sailed with the first adventurers, carried over with him "two hundred ministers, gentlemen, and others, who were forced out of

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* These men had fled from ecclesiastical tyranny in England only to forge for themselves a yoke even more intolerable. The following is a specimen of the laws drawn up for the colony of Massachussets. "Whosoever shall profane the Lord's Day by doing unnecessary work, by unnecessary travelling, or by sports and recreations, he or they who so transgress shall forfeit forty shillings, or be *publicly whipped;* but if it shall appear to have been done presumptuously, such person or persons shall be *put to death*, or otherwise severely punished at the discretion of the court. No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting. No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day."—Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 285.

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their native country by the heat of the Laudian persecution."* So rapid a migration began to make men whose views were far from Puritanical suspect that the Gospel was passing westward;† and about this time the devout Herbert wrote in his *Church Militant* "those much-noted verses,"

> "Religion stands a-tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand."

But the large sums of money, the energy, devotion, and earnest rectitude, of which the country was being drained, were not considerations likely to affect the policy of Laud.‡ He slacked not his hand for any of these things. "He was intolerant," says Hallam, "not from bigotry, but from systematic policy."§ "A man vigilant enough," says May, "of an active or rather restless mind, more ambitious to undertake than politic to carry on."‖

As all parts of the kingdom were made to feel the energy of Laud, it was not to be expected that his own University of Oxford should escape. The Laudian theology was doubtless in the ascendant there; but there were still some dissidents. "Many conceived," says Fuller, "that innovations (defended by others as renovations) were multiplied in Divine

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 178.

† See letter from Dr. Twisse to Mr. Mede in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 37.

‡ It was afterwards (1637) found necessary to attempt to stop the emigration.

§ Hallam's *Cons. Hist.*, i., 450.

‖ May's *History of Long Parliament*, p. 19.

service, and made some tart reflections on some eminent persons in the Church, and also were apprehended to violate the King's Declaration for the sopiting of all Arminian controversies."* For having maintained such views, Mr. Ford, of Magdalen Hall, Mr. Thorne, of Balliol, and Mr. Hodges, of Exeter, were summoned before the Vice-Chancellor. From his jurisdiction they appealed to that of the proctors, and the proctors admitted the appeal. Laud complained to the King, who heard the whole cause at Woodstock, and severely censured all engaged in it. The preachers were expelled the University, and ordered to recant, which only one of them (Mr. Ford) refused to do. The proctors were deprived of their offices. Dr. Prideaux, the Divinity Professor, and Dr. Wilkinson, Head of Magdalen Hall, were censured.† Chap. XIII. 1631. Severities at Oxford.

From this intolerable tyranny over opinion exercised by Laud, it is pleasant to turn to a solid good work, of which he was now allowed to see the inauguration. "Wheresoever his grave shall be," says Sir E. Dering, speaking of Laud, "Paul's shall be his everlasting monument."‡ The enormous structure of the Cathedral church of St. Paul had been lying a heap of ruins since the days of Elizabeth.§ Restoration of St. Paul's begun.

* Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 18.

† Rushworth, ii., 110; Fuller, u. s.; Laud's *Diary*.

‡ Preface to his speeches in matter of religion, p. 5.

§ Great numbers of churches were at this period lying in ruins throughout the country. Both of Herbert's churches, as well as Nicholas Ferrar's, were in this condition. On October 11, 1629, the King issued an order, stating "that he had taken special notice

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Various attempts had been made to repair it, but none at all adequate to the greatness of the work. It was now, however, determined to begin in earnest. The King issued a commission declaring that he had "taken into his serious consideration the great decay of that building, the same being the goodliest monument and most eminent church in all his dominions, and a principal ornament of the royal city; that in respect of his zeal for God's glory, and for the honour of his government, he had an earnest desire and purpose to provide for the repairing and upholding of that magnificent structure,* and restoring the same to its ancient beauty and glory, according to the pious intention of his royal father, who granted a commission to begin and set forward that honourable work."† Accordingly, all the great in the land are urged to contribute; the Judges in the Prerogative Courts are directed to apply to this purpose the moneys of persons dying intestate, and letters for a general collection throughout the country are issued under the Great Seal. It was appointed that all moneys

of the general decay and ruin of parish churches in many parts of the kingdom," and directing steps to be taken for their restoration. —Rushworth, ii., 28; see Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 38, Oxf. ed., 1843.

* King Charles having a pious resolution to begin the repair of the whole church and steeple, made his humble entry at the west end of the aisles up to the body, choir, and chancel, where, after a sermon of exhortation to that Christian intention, he made his pious procession about the inside circumvelation thereof, and viewing the decays, gave up his promise with his devotions speedily to settle the beginning of the work."—Sanderson's *Reign of King Charles*, p. 176.

† Rushworth, ii., 89.

should be paid into the Chamber of London, as treasury. That once a year certificate should be made of the moneys given, and of the donors' names. That a clerk of the works should be chosen, a paymaster, and a purveyor. That the work should not be begun till there were ten thousand pounds in the bank. That when it was begun, boxes should be set in the church for contributions. At the same time, certain regulations were passed for abating the scandals and indecencies which were prevalent in old St. Paul's. The nave of the church had been used as a sort of exchange, and traffick of all kinds was to be seen going on there. Porters were passing through carrying bales of goods, and provision-venders offering their wares. This desecration, which does not reflect much credit on the grave Dr. Donne, or any of the other deans and residentiaries of the church, was now stopped by Order in Council, on the ground that it was likely to "interfere with men's liberal offerings" in the cause; the same authority also directed the demolition of certain houses which stood inconveniently near to the Cathedral, and of St. Gregory's Church, the parishioners being transferred to Christ Church.* The work of restoration went

* In noticing the restoration of St. Paul's, we ought not to pass by the munificence of Sir Paul Pindar, once Ambassador at Constantinople, and afterwards one of the farmers of the King's Customs. This generous benefactor had expended large sums upon St. Paul's in the time of King James, and now that the restoration was undertaken in earnest, he took upon himself the rebuilding of the great south aisle in a far more costly manner than it had been built at first; which cost him seventeen thousand pounds. He saw the completion of his work before he died.—Sanderson's

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on vigorously till the time of the troubles, and when Parliament stopped it some ten years afterwards, £113,000 had already been expended,* and there remained in the Chambers of London above £17,000 to meet the outlay still required.† It was maliciously insinuated that when the fines of the High Commission Court were appropriated to this purpose, the bishops inflicted fines more frequently and more heavily.‡ Perhaps some might consider that the sanctity of the object would justify such an abuse, but assertions of this sort are easy to make, and very difficult to meet.

Certainly, however, in the practice of Laud and others, there was to be seen now an excessive devotion to the externals of religion, which must have very rudely jarred with the notions of many, even amongst the bishops themselves. When Laud, as Bishop of London, consecrated the church of St. Catherine-Cree,§ in Leadenhall-street, his prostrations and genuflexions were extremely exaggerated. First, there was a pause made before the

Laud consecrates St. Catherine's Church.

Reign of King Charles, p. 177. Edmund Howes (Continuation of Stow) records that William Parker, citizen and merchant taylor, left £500 for putting stained glass into St. Paul's.

* Rushworth, ii., 93.

† Heylin's *Laud*, p. 222. "The body of the church was finished, and the steeple scaffolded. There was also a stately portico built at the west end, supported with pillars of the Corinthian order, and embellished with the statues of King James and King Charles."—Neal, ii., 186. The windows were filled with admirable stained glass.—Sanderson.

‡ It became a proverb, that "St. Paul's was repaired with the sins of the people."—Neal, ii., 186.

§ The decorations in this church were executed by the celebrated Inigo Jones.—Nicholls's *Progresses*, i., 559, note.

closed western doors; then a voice exclaimed, "Open, open ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may come in." Then the bishop, and some doctors, and other principal men went in; and the bishop, falling down upon his knees, with his eyes lifted up and his arms spread abroad, uttered these words, "This place is holy, the ground is holy, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy."* These ceremonies are not found in the consecration service of Bishop Andrewes, which Laud alleged that he followed on this occasion. It was, however, at the Consecration of the Eucharist that the most extraordinary scene took place. We give it in the words of Rushworth: "As he approached the Communion-table, he made many several lowly bowings; and coming up to the side of the table where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times; and then, after the reading of many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin wherein the bread was laid, and when he beheld the bread, he laid it down again, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards it; then he drew near again, and opened the napkin, and bowed as before. Then he laid his hand upon the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which he let go again, went back, and bowed thrice towards it; then he came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired

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* Rushworth, ii., 77.

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back, and bowed as before."* These very exaggerated expressions of reverence must have scandalized many of the spectators, and made them still more firmly convinced of the inseparable union of Popery and Arminianism. There were few there, probably, who were able to take a temperate and common-sense view of the matter, and to understand that reverential gestures of the body were in themselves not unfitting in the House of God;† and when it came to the oft-repeated bowings and startings back, the spectators must have been divided between indignation and ridicule. There were several other ceremonies said to have been used on this occasion, which, as the Bishop afterwards denied having practised them, we do not enumerate; but the public exhibition of these eccentricities was comparatively harmless when contrasted with the policy which was soon adopted of enforcing them under pains and penalties, and making a promise to practise them a condition of admission into Holy Orders.‡

His impolicy.

There was in the all-powerful Bishop no consi-

* Rushworth, ii., 77; Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 350; Laud's *History of his Troubles*, 339, sq.

† The learned and temperate Joseph Mede thus defends the practice: "All nations have been wont to use some reverential gesture when they enter their temples. And our blessed Saviour, in the Gospel, would not have his disciples to enter into a man's house without some salutation. Now, of all gestures, adoration, or bowing of the body, seems to be the most comely and ready for that purpose; and of all postures, in the doing thereof, that which is directed towards that which is most sacred and of most pre-eminent relation to God in the Church, the Holy Table or Altar."—Mede's Works, p. 396, edition 1677.

‡ This was done by Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford.

deration whatever for the *when*, the *where*, and the *how*. No one can read his *Diary* without being struck with the remarkable absence of common sense which it displays.* The man who, amidst the great affairs of Church and State in which he was bearing so all-important a part, can deliberately record his dreams—that he dreamt he had a tooth in his head so loose that it required some one to hold it in, or that he had lost one sleeve of his rochet, or that two robins flew into his study—can have nothing masculine in his character. He appears as a child throughout.† That he was of a burning and disinterested zeal only brought out into fuller relief, and made more dangerous, this strange impolicy and disregard of circumstances. We admire and reverence him for what he purposed, we censure and condemn him for the manner in which he performed. The decency of ritual, uniformity, the restoration of churches, the augmentation of poor livings, are objects above praise, if pursued in ways free from blame—but in neither of these cases was the good end sought to be compassed by unexceptionable means. With regard to the augmentation of the stipends of the poorer

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* "There cannot be a more contemptible work than his diary."—Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 450.

† "Of anything like depth or comprehensiveness of intellect (in Laud) there is no evidence, much less of what is understood by genius. There is never a stroke of original insight, never a flash of intellectual generality."—Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 360.

"Laud had no gifted mind; his capacity was not extensive, but his confined intellect was quickened by subtlety and restless in.....its irritable activity."—Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 395.

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clergy, this commendable purpose had long been the subject of Laud's care and thoughts. We find in his *Diary* (March 29, 1624) an entry giving an account of his interview with Abbot to propound a scheme for relieving the poorer clergy from some of the subsidies. The Archbishop is said to have been rough towards those of his own order,* and he certainly appears to have treated Laud (whom he hated) with very little civility on this occasion. "His Grace was very angry, asked what had I to do to make any suit for the Church. I answered, I thought I had done a very good office for the Church, and so did my betters think. And I hoped, being done out of a good mind, for the support of many poor vicars abroad in the country, who must needs sink under three subsidies a year, my error (if it were one) was pardonable."

His zeal to help the poorer clergy.

Their poverty.

The poverty of the clergy had long been a scandal to England, as is evident from numberless proofs. We need cite here none other than the famous speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyer delivered in the Parliament of 1628. He says—"In the first year of the King, and the second convention, I first moved for the increase and enlarging poor ministers' livings; I showed how necessary it was to be done, how shameful it was that it had been so long neglected. There were then (as now) many accusations on foot against scandalous ministers; I was bold to tell the house that there were scandalous livings too, which was much the cause of the other; livings of five marks and five pounds a year; that

Sir B. Rudyer's Speech.

* Collier's *Church Hist.*, viii., 67.

men of worth and of good parts would not be muzzled up to such pittances; that there were some places in England, which were scarce in Christendom, where God was little better known than among the Indians. I exampled it in the uttermost parts of the north, where the prayers of the common people are more like spells and charms than devotions. The same blindness and ignorance is in divers parts of Wales, which many of that country do both know and lament.....I have observed that we are always very eager and fierce against Papistry, against scandalous ministers, and against things which are not within our power. I shall be glad to see that we do delight as well in rewarding as punishing, and in undertaking matters within our reach, as this is absolutely within our power."* There is no doubt that the redress of the great evil thus described had continued to occupy Laud's thoughts, as it had engaged them at an early period of his episcopate. We find among his list of things projected to be done, "to find a way to increase the stipends of poor vicars." Chap. XIII. 1632.

Yet on this very point Laud managed to give more serious offence to the country, than even by his bowings, genuflexions, and startings. The Feoffees for buying impropriations already mentioned, had thriven wonderfully, and received most bountiful contributions for their object; but after Dr. Heylin's attack on them, they were considered by the High Church party as nothing more nor less than an elaborate organization for spreading The Collectors of St. Antholins dissolved.

* Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 28.

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and upholding Puritanism. Laud, therefore, resolved on their dissolution, and they were cited into the Exchequer Chamber for that purpose. This measure, if the Feoffees had been really enemies to the Church of England, might have been necessary, but it is almost incredible when we read in Fuller that the Feoffees privately offered to Laud, by the mouth of Mr. White, one of their number, "that if he disliked either the persons who managed, or order which they took in this work, they would willingly submit the alteration to his lordship's discretion."* "Had Laud," says Dr. Short, "by joining in this society, and putting himself at its head, attempted to guide instead of opposing it, the result might have been very beneficial to the Church, and creditable to himself; as it was, he, for the time, carried his point, and violated the better feelings of those who could hardly perceive the danger, however real it might be."† In the

* Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 29.

† *Ch. Hist.*, p. 389, 3rd edition. As an instance of hardship arising from the dissolution of these Feoffees, we give the following letter:—Mayor and townsmen of High Wycombe, to Archbishop Laud. "Whereas sundry of your petitioners, whose names are hereunder written, did heretofore give unto the late Feoffees of impropriations sundry sums of money, amounting in all to £260, upon their undertaking to add to the revenues of the church of Wycombe, for the maintenance of the perpetual vicar there and his successors, £40 a year for ever, and for some years they did thereupon allow the present vicar that proportion, and did lay out those moneys on the purchase of the rectory of Aylesbury, bought by them, or some other impropriation, all of which are now by the said Feoffees conveyed to his Majesty; and the said gifts of your parishioners, and undertaking of the said Feoffees, for the good of the Church, like to be frustrated, unless by your Grace's mediation to his Majesty, some course be taken to the

case in the Exchequer Chamber, against the Feoffees, who were commonly called the "Collectors of St. Antholins," the strongest point brought out was, "That they purchased divers impropriations, but never restored one of them to the Church by conferring it in perpetuity upon any incumbent, but kept them in their own hands, and disposed of the profits to such lecturers and ministers, and in such proportions and for so long a time as pleased them; and with other part thereof they bought advowsons of churches, nominations of lecturers and school-masters, which the Court conceived was not in the intention of those that gave the money for the

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contrary. Your petitioners, on behalf of the said church, most humbly beseech your Grace to be a means to procure from his Majesty some direction that out of the profits of Aylesbury, or some other impropriation, such sum of money shall be raised as shall be necessary, and employed for the purchase of some revenue of £40 a year, to be added to the said church, for the maintenance of the vicar there," &c.—*Verney Papers*, C. S., p. 179.

From a MS. in the Harleian Collection, we are able to specify the purchases made by the Collectors of St. Antholins, between Feb. 15, 1625, and March 15, 1631. The impropriation of Dunstable; the impropriation of Presteigne; the prebend of Aylesbury and donation of the same, also the advowson of the vicarage, and a lease of certain land and houses in the parish; the impropriation of Haverfordwest, land, and houses; lease of glebe land tithes, belonging to the prebend of Prees, in the cathedral of Litchfield; advowson of Wycombe, Bucks; advowson of All Saints, Worcester; advowson of Wyn-Savage, Salop; advowson of Birmingham, Warwick; impropriation and advowson of Hertford; perp. curacy of Lyngfield, Surrey; lands and houses in Southwark; impropriation of Kniver, Stafford, with patronage of minister and school-master; lease of rectory of Typton, Stafford, of barn and tithes of Cotton, Salop; advowson of St. Alkmand, Shrewsbury; advowson of Mayfield, Stafford; advowsons of Lyme Regis and Halstock, Dorset; advowsons of St. Peter and St. John, Dunwich; chapel of Haringworth, and house. —*Harleian MSS.*, No. 832.

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buying in of impropriations."* It is evident that such an *imperium in imperio* (similar to that exercised harmlessly in our own days by some of the religious societies) might, in those very different times, have become dangerous to the discipline of the Church; but it was unfortunate that nothing short of an ignominious dissolution and repression should have been judged a meet recompence for the pious pains and care of these worthy men.

Case of Mr. Henry Sherfield.

The next victim to Laud's impolitic severity was Mr. Henry Sherfield, bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and recorder of Salisbury, whose offence was, having broken a painted glass window in the church of St. Edmonds, in Salisbury. He had been authorized by the vestry of the parish† to have the window removed, which, as he asserted, scandalized his religious feelings by its rude and blasphemous delineations of the Almighty, and in order to make sure of the work being done, he had broken some of the glass in it with his stick. It was contended against him that he had no right, even with the consent of the parishioners, to remove or deface an ornament of the church without the permission of the ordinary, but to this it was answered that the church of St. Edmonds was a lay-fee, and that the Bishop had never exercised any jurisdiction over it. The window, it was contended, was not fair or costly,

* Rushworth, ii., 151.

† "These bastard elderships began to grow so much in use in most corporate towns, that countenance and connivance in short time would have made them legitimate."—Heylin's *Laud*, 229. At this vestry there were six justices of the peace present.—Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 102.

but of very rude work, and could not have cost more than forty shillings when it was made.* The offence seems a sufficiently trivial one. It was, however, tried in the Star Chamber, and "Laud did not only aggravate the crime as much as he could in reference to the dangerous consequences which might follow on it, but showed how far the use of painted images, in the way of ornament and remembrance, might be retained in the Church."† No greater proof of his paramount influence could be brought than the fact that for this trifling misdemeanour (if, indeed, it were one) Mr. Sherfield was deprived of his recordership, fined £500, committed to the Fleet, and ordered to make a public acknowledgment of his offence before the bishop of his diocese.‡ No part of these extreme punishments is more revolting than that which seems to have been constantly appended to the fine and imprisonment, viz., the recantation. To force a man deliberately to unsay what he has deliberately said, to eat his own words and condemn his own conduct, is a studied piece of extreme cruelty. It aimed at destroying a man's influence for the future as well as effacing it in the past, at robbing him of his self-respect, and that consciousness of honesty, which is the chief support to a sufferer under unjust perse-

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The injustice of forced recantations.

* Rushworth, ii., 152-3-4.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 229. In his speech Laud enumerated nine points which aggravated the crime. He also says that a sort of miraculous interposition or warning was sent on Mr. Sherfield to deter him from the sin, by a violent fall which he had in the church.—Laud's Works, vi., i., 20.

‡ Rushworth, u. s.

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cution. We cannot but honour the moral courage of those men who refused thus to stultify and condemn themselves, even though we may not approve the words or actions which called forth the censure. Thus Mr. Bernard, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, who had before been censured for some indiscreet expressions in a sermon, now again falling under the censure of the High Commission for a like offence, and refusing to recant,* commands a respect and sympathy by his bold demeanour, which would not have been accorded to his injudicious sermon.

Laud all-powerful in promoting bishops.

Everything now conspired to strengthen and extend the vast power of Laud. He had obtained from the King a large grant of patronage, whereby, says Heylin, he was able to "increase the number of his dependents."† He had been allowed to recommend three or four divines on whom he could reckon to bishoprics; his old friend Neile had culminated in his prosperous career by being translated to York. To fill the important post of Clerk of the Closet, which had been held by him, Laud was permitted to recommend Dr. Juxon, a fast friend of his own.‡ Previously, the King had, on his advice, appointed Mr. Windebank, an old College ally of Laud's, Secretary of State, so that, says his biographer, "Windebank having the

* Rushworth, ii., 140.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 255.

‡ "July 10. Tuesday. Dr. Juxon, then Dean of Worcester, at my suit sworn Clerk of his Majesty's Closet. That I might have one whom I could trust near his Majesty if I grow weak or infirm, as I must have a time."—Laud's *Diary*.

King's ear on one side, and Juxon on the other, he might presume to have his tale well told between them."* To find another man fit for Winchester in place of Neile was his great care, for it "concerned him to plant such a bishop in that see as might be pliant and subservient to his desires."† The Bishop of Winchester is visitor of five colleges in Oxford. Laud, doubtless, well remembered that his old enemy, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was visitor of three. To secure his influence in Oxford, Winchester must be made safe. This was accordingly done by translating Dr. Curle from Bath and Wells to that see, while Bath and Wells was filled by Dr. Pierce, and Peterborough by Dr. Lyndsell. The Bench of Bishops would at this rate be soon of his own nomination, and he would reign, even without the formal appointment to the Primacy, absolutely supreme among his brethren. Strengthened thus by the consciousness of faithful support, his active spirit sought new triumphs in enforcing conformity. Yet his usual impolicy and want of judgment is apparent here also. It may have been just and right to insist on all the English merchants on the Continent employing no chaplains but those who were strictly conformable and orthodox, and ready to use the liturgy of the Church of England;‡ but it does appear to be pushing conformity to an objectionable strictness, when the members of the Dutch and French Protestant Churches settled in this country were called upon to conform. These most useful members of the com-

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Makes rules for English settlements abroad.

For conformity of foreign Churches in England.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 227. † *Ib.* ‡ *Ib.*, 233.

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munity had had the freedom of their religion guaranteed to them by Elizabeth and James, but now, Laud represents it to them, that it was not "the meaning of the State then or at any other time since, that the first generation being worn out, their children and children's children being naturally born subjects of this realm, should still remain divided from the rest of the Church;" and advises the King "that if they will continue as a distinct body both from State and Church, they should pay all duties double, as strangers used to do in this realm, and not be capable of such immunities as the natives have; that they should be warned to repair diligently to their parish churches and to conform themselves to the prayers and sacraments, which if they shall refuse to do, then to proceed against them by excommunication."* If this did not actually amount to treachery, it had a very ugly look about it, and the wholesale reduction of a number of churches differing in confession and ritual from the Church of England, into its bosom, merely because the accident of their position gave the State power over them, was a thing likely to scandalize even the well-disposed members of that Church.

The Church affairs of Scotland from 1610 to 1633.

But Laud's greatest indiscretion in the matter of order was certainly his advice to the King to introduce a liturgy into the Church of Scotland.

The Scotch bishops consecrated in England, and armed with the powers of the High Commission, had returned to their country to act as moderators

* Heylin's *Laud*, 235.

in the provincial assemblies (as the Glasgow Assembly had decided), which, in effect, was to preside, as bishops, at the visitations of their clergy. Great judgment had been shown in providing them with the reality of power before its exercise was felt, and laying the foundation for a ritual and ceremonial before the actual evidences of these unpopular arrangements were shown to the eyes of the people. There was murmuring and dissatisfaction in some of the synods at the *ex officio* presidency of the bishop; but "howsoever it was," says Calderwood, "the bishops were become so awful with their grandeur and the King's assistance, that there was little resistance howbeit great murmuring and malcontentment."* The next point attempted was to bring the people to a reverent observation of the great Festivals of the Church. For this purpose, the yearly celebration of the Lord's Supper was appointed by proclamation, with sound of trumpet, to take place on Easter-day. "The most part," says Calderwood, "obeyed, howbeit there were acts of the General Assembly standing in force against it."† Meantime, the people were amused and put off the scent of the real policy of the Episcopal party, by a great pretence of zeal against Papists. An unfortunate Jesuit or two were hung from time to time to keep up the delusion while the main design was continually carried on. In the

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* Calderwood's *History of Church of Scotland*, p. 614. In quoting this author, we are giving the opinions of a most bitter and bigoted Presbyterian. We are quite sure to have the utmost that could be said against the bishops.

† *Ib.*, 649.

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General Assembly, held at Aberdeen, in the year 1616, an act was passed authorising certain bishops to compile and frame a form of Common Prayer for the use of the Church in Scotland.

In 1617, the King was in Scotland, and the service was performed at the Chapel-Royal at Holyrood with great pomp; with the use of the English liturgy, choristers, surplices, and organ. At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the noblemen, magistrates, and others were constrained to receive it kneeling. It was now decided to endeavour to procure the ratification by a General Assembly, which should be carefully prepared for the purpose, of *five Articles*, on which it was thought all the superstructure of the doctrine and discipline of an Episcopal Church might be safely built up. These were first ventilated in the Assembly of St. Andrew's (1617), but nothing definite could there be done. It was then given out by the bishops that no other General Assembly would be held. "After they had spread a report that we should not have a General Assembly again, to make ministers secure and careless, they surprised them with a sudden indiction."* It was proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh in the beginning of August, 1618, that an Assembly would be held at Perth at the end of three weeks. All, it is asserted, had been carefully prepared beforehand; but that there were some discontented spirits in the Perth Assembly is evident from the account of its deliberations. These it was endeavoured to daunt and frighten.

* Calderwood's *History of Church of Scotland*, p. 697.

While the barons, burgesses, and bishops sat on forms at the table, the ministers were left to stand behind; "but this, apparently, was done of policy, that they might carry some majesty on their part to hush simple ministers."* By these and other similar means the bishops and the King's party procured the ratification, by the Assembly of Perth, of the five Articles known by the name of "The five Articles of Perth." Of these,

(1.) The first enjoins kneeling at the Lord's Supper.

(2.) The second allows private communion in case of sickness.

(3.) The third allows private baptism in case of danger.

(4.) The fourth enjoins catechizing and conformation.

(5.) The fifth enjoins the celebration of holy days and festivals.

Having achieved this success, the bishops proceeded to busy themselves in drawing up a liturgy for Scotland. This book, when finished, was sent up to King James, by Archbishop Spotswood, carefully perused by his Majesty, and afterwards reviewed by some Scotch bishops at the English Court; and, having passed this test and received the last improvements, the King returned it the Scotch bishops, who were to recommend it to the use of their own Church. It is evident, however, that the prudent men who presided over the sees of Scotland, foresaw a danger, and delayed the final

* Calderwood, 698.

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Thus matters stood when the King went to Scotland in 1633. The Episcopal party had considerably declined in influence through the arrogance and unpopularity of some of the lately-appointed bishops, and the King was in very bad odour with the great nobles of the land, on account of his design of making them surrender some of their ill-gotten plunder of Church lands, which they had managed to amass during the convulsions of the Reformation. The condition of the ministers had become lamentably "slender and servile." Instead of receiving the tithes of the parish, they had only some poor stipend, paid by the great lords. This was sometimes left to discretion, and resisted or re-

* Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 60-1.

fused. The clergy being thus meanly provided, "fell under the utmost contempt, and lived tied to a scandalous dependence."* King Charles, with that generosity towards the Church which he ever displayed, was sincerely anxious to restore some part of the pilfered property to Church purposes. But this good intention sufficed to range against him the greater part of the nobility of Scotland. These men, whose corruption and meanness are beyond expression, stirred up and aggravated the Presbyterian hatred of Episcopacy, that they might keep, undisturbed, their sacrilegious spoils. So strong was the feeling of resistance, and so bad the temper in which the King found the most influential men in the kingdom, that he saw plainly that the present at any rate was no time for attempting the introduction of the English liturgy.† In the Parliament which was held, a very strong feeling against the royal will showed itself; and it was only with the greatest difficulty and, as is asserted by some, by unfair practices, that the King was able to carry the acts which he desired, especially the one which prescribed "the apparel of kirkmen." Instructions were now again given to the Scotch bishops to prepare a liturgy which might avoid wounding the national pride, by containing some slight differences from the English form, but the posture of affairs did not seem to the King sufficiently favourable to

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* King's declaration, Collier's *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 65.

† "The Scots were of another temper than to be easily won to anything which they had no mind to, and a less mind they could have to nothing than the English liturgy."—Heylin's *Laud*, 239.

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attempt anything at once. He accordingly contented himself with erecting Edinburgh into an Episcopal see, and making a progress through the country, visiting all the chief places.* Laud had accompanied the King to Scotland, and had been appointed to preach before him there, "in which," says Heylin, "some question may be made how he pleased the Scots, although it be out of question that he pleased the King." On the journey homeward, Charles, who was a very rapid traveller, and never so well as when he was using great exercise, far outstripped his suite, and rode post to the Queen at Greenwich. The Bishop of London, following more leisurely, only reached Fulham just in time to hear of Abbot's sickness and death. On his very first interview with the King after their short separation, he was saluted with the words, "My lord's grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome." In six weeks the customary forms for the translation were gone through, and the new archbishop settled at Lambeth, Sept. 19, 1633.†

Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 241.

† Collier's *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 67. It was with sad anticipations that Laud received the appointment. "I have had a heaviness hang upon me ever since I was nominated to this place, and I can give no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that there is more expected of me than the craziness of these times will give me leave to do."—Laud to Strafford, *Works*, vi., i., 311.

CHAPTER XIV.

Abbot and Laud contrasted—Bishops restrained in the matter of ordination—Church-ales and wakes forbidden by C. J. Richardson—The Archbishop indignant—Publication of the *Book of Sports*—Excitement caused by this—Acts of Parliament against profaning the Lord's Day—Decision by King in council for the placing the holy table altar-wise in St. Gregory's church—Church affairs of Ireland from 1615-34—The Irish Convocation (1634) adopts the English 39 articles—Thereby abrogates the Irish articles—Frames canons—Laud persecutes the Dutch and French Churches in England—Report of the state of the province of Canterbury, January, 1634—Laud begins the work of Church restoration—Lambeth chapel—Canterbury cathedral—Winchester, Worcester, &c.—The holy table ordered to be placed altar-wise in parish churches, and railed in—Controversy on this matter—Case of the churchwardens of Beckington—Clergy begin to show more self-respect—Tithes of London churches—Report of Province for January, 1635—Country gentlemen dissatisfied—Their resort to London and Westminster—Forbidden—Many clergymen emigrate to New England—Juxon made Lord Treasurer—Canons for Scotch Church—Statutes for cathedrals—Treatises on Sabbath—Report of Province for January, 1636—Liable to convey false impressions—Bishop Wren at Norwich—Prayer before sermon—Bishop Pierce at Bath and Wells—Laud's metropolitan claims—Bishops' courts held in their own names.

Chap. XIV. 1633.



RCHBISHOP ABBOT had always been a favourer of Puritans, but during the latter years of his life, through his extreme dislike to Laud, he had been almost an avowed partisan of that rising faction. He was an honest man, and of good

Abbot and Laud contrasted.

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rence his memory, and we must look for his commendation in the faint and hollow praises of the declared enemies of the Church.* Chap. XIV. 1633.

The first act of Laud's primacy was a salutary one. He republished the Injunctions of 1629, having an especial eye to the abuse of "vagrant ministers and trencher-chaplains,"† insisting that no bishop should presume to ordain any man without a title,‡ and enforcing the Injunction which prohibited any private gentleman, not qualified by law, from keeping a chaplain in his house. This abuse appears to have grown to a great head.§ "The Church," says Heylin, "was filled with indigent clerks, which either thrust themselves into gentlemen's houses to teach their children, and sometimes to officiate divine service at the table's end, or otherwise to undertake some stipendiary lecture Bishops restrained in the matter of ordination.

* We must except Mr. Marsden. "Abbot was a man of blameless life, learned, vigilant, of exemplary piety, an unwearied student, an able statesman."—*Early Puritans*, p. 370.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 355.

‡ Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 184.

§ It is thus satirized by Bishop Hall:—

"A gentle squire would gladly entertain
Into his house some trencher-chapellaine,
Some willing man that might instruct his sons,
And that would stand to good conditions.
First, that he lie upon the truckle-bed,
While his young master lieth o'er his head;
Second, that he do, on no default,
Ever presume to sit above the salt;
Third, that he never change his trencher twice;
Fourth, that he use all common courtesies,
Sit bare at meals, and one half rise and wait:
All these observed, he could contented be
To give five marks, and winter livery."

Hall's Works, x., 345.

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wheresoever they could find entertainment."* The same writer says that this violation of the 33rd canon was done by "some of the bishops of the poorer sees for their private benefit." Certainly the abuse required abatement, and was a fit subject for the energy and decision of the new primate.

On the very same day that the Archbishop wrote to his suffragans on this matter, was published the King's declaration about lawful sports on the Sunday, an act for which the King and the Archbishop† have been perhaps more severely censured than for any other. The Puritanical traditions of Sabbatarianism have survived most of their fellows, and we are hardly yet in a position to judge with fairness upon the amount of observance which ought to be enforced for the Christian weekly festival. That it was impolitic and dangerous to publish the *Book of Sports* is doubtless true, but that under the circumstances of the case, it was almost necessary for the King and his advisers to do this, or abandon their own opinions, is perhaps also capable of proof. It must be remembered that the King and the High Church party were not the movers in the matter. The Judges had taken it upon themselves to forbid the celebration of the village feasts or wakes on the Sunday,‡ and had ordered, most unwarrantably,

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 253.

† With regard to his own practice, Laud alleged at his trial that he always strictly observed the Lord's Day.—Fuller, *Church Hist.*, xi., ii., 38.

‡ There are five precedents on the Western Circuit before the act of C. J. Richardson, quoted in *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 151, sq.

the clergy to publish their decrees in the time of service.* This was as direct and distinct an intrusion on ecclesiastical jurisdiction as could well be devised, and it excited, as might be expected, the wrath of the Archbishop. But the Chief Justice (Richardson) seemed determined to set him and the King at defiance, and repeated on his next circuit his former order. An inquiry was then made through the Bishop of Bath and Wells, as to how the Dedication feasts were observed in the villages, and seventy-two grave divines† reported that they were observed religiously and orderly.‡ Upon

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Church-ales forbidden by C. J. Richardson.

* *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 256; Fuller, *Church Hist.*, xi., ii., 35. —Chief Justice Richardson required an account of the clergy on the Western Circuit, of their having obeyed the order, and inflicted punishments on those who had refused.

† "They were the *deboystest* and worst in the country," writes William Prynne.—*Canterbury's Doom*, p. 141.

‡ It will be interesting to quote from the letter of Bishop Pierce, founded on the report of the seventy-two clergy, the account of these feasts as they were observed in Somersetshire at that time. "There are," says he, "in Somersetshire, not only feasts of dedication or revel days, but also *Church-ales*, *Clerk-ales*, and *Bid-ales*. The feasts of dedication are in the memory of their several churches; those churches which are dedicated to the Holy Trinity have their feasts on Trinity Sunday; and so all the feasts are kept on the Sunday before or after the saints' day to whom the churches are dedicated, because the people have not leisure to observe them on the week days. This is acceptable to the people who otherwise go into tippling-houses or else to Conventicles. *Church-ales* are when the people go from their afternoon prayers on Sundays to their lawful sports and pastimes in the churchyard, or in the neighbourhood in some public-house, where they drink and make merry. By the benevolence of the people at these pastimes, many poor parishes have cast their bells, and beautified their churches, and raised stocks for the poor, and there has not been observed so much disorder at them as commonly at fairs or markets. *Clerk-ales* are so called because they were for the maintenance of the parish clerk, and there is great

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this the Chief Justice was called before the Council and received "such a rattle" for his former contempt, that he came out complaining "That he had been almost choked with a pair of lawn sleeves."*

The Archbishop indignant.

But the Sabbatarian controversy was now set fairly going. Theophilus Brabourn, a minister of Suffolk, had begun the strife in 1628. He was answered by White, Bishop of Ely, but says Fuller, "Books begat books, and controversies on this subject were multiplied." More than ever did the strife wage now that the heads of the Church and the law were seen at variance on the point. It thus became almost necessary for some authoritative measure to be taken, and as the Chief Justice had unwarrantably enforced the reading of his directions by the clergy in their churches, it seemed a natural and obvious reply for the King and the Archbishop, with order and precedent in their favour, to direct their injunctions to be read in like place and manner. Under these circumstances it was that King James's Declaration about Lawful Sports on the Lord's Day, which had originally been issued in 1618, was

reason for them, for in poor country parishes the people thinking it unfit that the clerk should duly attend at the church and not gain by his office, send him in provision, and then come and feast with him, by which means he sells more ale, and tastes more of the liberality of the people than their quarterly payments would amount to in many years; and since these have been put down, many ministers have complained to me that they are afraid they shall have no parish clerk. A *Bid-ale* is when a poor man decayed in his substance is set up again by the liberal benevolence and contribution of his friends at a Sunday's feast."—Bishop Pierce's Letter, *Canterbury's Doom*, pp. 142, 143.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 257; Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 203.

republished, with an addition which declares that "out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose the truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of our well-deserving people, we do ratify and publish this our blessed father's declaration; the rather because of late in some counties of our kingdom we find, that under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of churches commonly called Wakes. Now our express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed, and that our Justices of the Peace in their several divisions shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And we further command our Justices of Assize in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of our loyal and dutiful people in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to us and to our laws. And we further will that publication of this our command be made, by order from the Bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively. Given at our Palace of Westminster, Oct. 18, in the ninth year of our reign, 1633." It is remarked by Fuller, that there is no order in this Declaration, making it incumbent upon the *minister* to publish it. It might be done, he says, as well by any other person, so long as the publication was made in the church. But as

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it was against the law for anything to be published in the church except by the minister,* this direction is at any rate implied in the Declaration, and is not to be attributed to the private pique of the Bishops. Those who conscientiously objected to publishing this Declaration, were put to all sorts of shifts and devices. Some made their curates do that which they would not do themselves. Others qualified the bitterness of the dose by reading the Fourth Commandment immediately after. Others point blank refused, for which some were suspended, some deprived, and more "molested in the High Commission;"† their sufferings raising, as a matter

Excitement caused by this.

* See Rubric before offertory sentences.

† Prynne says that many hundreds were silenced for not reading it, but it is impossible to believe any statement of this notorious slanderer. *Vide Canterbury's Doom*, p. 153.—Sanderson on the contrary says—"Nor was the reading absolutely urged on any, unless under the Bishop of Norwich, too severe there." *Reign of Charles*, p. 175.—The truth evidently lies between. Mr. Samuel Clarke at Alcester, refused to read it, and was not molested. The same was also the case with Dr. Twiss at Newberry. Clarke's *Lives*, pp. 7—15.—The following admirable letter on the subject was addressed by Mr. Nicholas Estwick, Rector of Warkton, Northants, to Dr. S. Ward:—"What entertainment his Majesty's declaration touching sports on the Lord's Day hath found in other parts of the land, I know not, but I am sure it hath caused much distraction and grief in many honest men's hearts in our diocese that hath read it, and many there be, to the number of almost threescore, as I have been told, which have refused to publish it. Many of these are of note for learning, all of them I think orthodoxal diligent preachers, and conformable practisers of what they preach. What will become of them all the Lord knoweth. If they should be deprived (which God forbid) what a loss that would be amongst us, and what a blow it would give to the power of religion, your worship apprehendeth. For my own part, I must confess that albeit I have laboured in the point, yet I am not satisfied

of course, a mighty storm of odium against the Archbishop.* The greatest excitement was in the dioceses of Norwich and Bath and Wells. In the Archbishop's own diocese, only three were silenced, which his enemies attributed to his "fox-like" cunning (about the last thing he could be fairly accused of) which led him to prey far away from home.† In addition to the offence given to the religiously-minded Puritans by the enforced publication of the *Book of Sports*, there is also to be taken

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Acts of Parliament against profaning the Lord's Day.

whether recreations on the Lord's Day be lawful or not. I do not question the morality of the Christian Sabbath, but whether the day is so strictly to be kept in all parts, I am not able to determine. But I do willingly profess myself a scholar to any one that will settle me upon good grounds. Yet, if in general one asserts that sports are then lawful, another question arises, whether all the sports mentioned in the book are lawful, as dancing, rush-bearing, Whitsun-ales, May-games. I do vehemently suspect that none of these in our country towns is seldom or never used on that day, if at any time, without sin, and many times with great disorder. I would be loth to suffer for disobedience to man's laws in point of ceremony, and though I could have wished that the publication might have been done by proclamation at the market crosses, not by God's ministers in our holy churches, but since it hath pleased his Majesty to take this latter way, I have caused the book to be published in my church, not looking at the contents, but at the authority which commands the publication thereof, and I hold this position to be true." He then gives his reasons at length for this course, and thinks he may prevail with the other ministers who had refused to adopt his views. He asks Dr. Ward for a letter to sanction his view.—*Tanner MSS.*, 71, 186.

* "Upon that day which God's law and even our own reason hath consecrated, at such a time that men should be plucked from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the Church, instigated, by public edict, and with earnest endeavour pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing, is a horror to think."—Milton, *Of Reformation*, book ii.

* Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 39—44.

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into account the fact that it was a direct reversal of the policy of the House of Commons. In the first Parliament of King Charles, they had passed a Bill forbidding any assembly or concourse of people out of their own parish on the Lord's Day, or any bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful exercises in the same. In the third Parliament, they had further enacted that carriers, waggoners and packmen should not be allowed to travel, nor butchers to kill or sell meat on that day.* These acts did not indeed prohibit such assemblies as the Church-ales objected to by Chief Justice Richardson, but they clearly enough showed that the policy and feeling of the House was against allowing any license on that day. This consideration, however, would not be likely to deter those now administering the government of the State from any line of conduct which they had adopted.

Decision for placing the Holy Table altar-wise in St. Gregory's Church.

The publication of the *Book of Sports* was followed almost immediately by an Order in Council, which had an important bearing upon the subsequent history of the Church. There had been a dispute between the parishioners of St. Gregory's, a church adjoining St. Paul's Cathedral, and the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, as ordinaries, as to the position of the communion-table. The case was heard by appeal by the King in Council. It was then ordered, after a full hearing, that the table should be set *altar-wise*, as the dean and chapter had directed. This decision afterwards became a

* Heylin's *Laud*, 256.

precedent and rule to all ordinaries in their judgments on this matter. It was declared in the order that the liberty which appears to be left in the Rubric and the 82nd Canon to place the table where it may stand with most fitness and convenience, is not to be interpreted as though it gave a liberty of judging in the matter to the parishioners, but that the ordinary alone was to decide in all cases.* It will be remembered that when the matter was first mooted some six years before, in the case of Grantham, Bishop Williams had decided that the table was to be removed when it was not needed for use, and not stand continually altar-wise, and this view he had enforced in a learned letter to the Vicar of Grantham. The judgment in the matter of St. Gregory's may therefore be considered as an authoritative reversal of the decision of the Bishop of Lincoln.

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The ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland now require our attention. We resume the history of that Church from the point at which we quitted it—the introduction of the Irish Articles in the year 1615.

Church affairs in Ireland from 1615 to 1634.

The policy which had dictated the Irish Articles had proved anything but successful in fostering the growth of the Reformed Church in that island. Puritanical and Presbyterian views having been openly favoured, there were too many ready to take advantage of the paralysed condition of the Church, and greedily to seize upon her revenues.†

* Rushworth, ii., 207.

† Some attempts had been made to check this. In 1620, Dr. Rives, a learned civilian in Ireland, published his *Poor Vicar's Plea for Tithes*, in which he maintains that by the canon law the

Chap. XIV. Dr. Usher, the most learned churchman of his day, and a man full of charity and goodness, exercised a paramount influence over the councils of the Irish Government in Church matters. He was appointed by the King Bishop of Meath; but he still remained in Dublin, where his preaching was much admired, and had great effect upon many Roman Catholics.* But Usher was more of a scholar than a bishop. He had no heart to grapple with the gross abuses that surrounded him, nor to recommend a vigorous administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Meantime, Trinity College, designed to be the greatest bulwark of the Protestant Church in Ireland, was miserably convulsed with internal dissensions,† and the Roman Catholic interest was so strong in the State, that they were able to force one deputy after another to yield before them. Upon the arrival of Lord Falkland to fill that office, Usher preached a sermon recommending vigorous measures against the Romanists, whom he was by no means inclined to include in his scheme of comprehension; but the sermon being considered too bitter and hostile, he was censured for it by the Primate, and ordered to leave Dublin, and spend more time in his own diocese.‡ It would seem, indeed, that this required his utmost care and attention. The report of its state in 1622, preserved in the Dublin University Library, gives a

bishop has power to assign a fitting portion of revenue out of the impropriation to the minister, even in spite of the lay impropriator.

* Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 57. † *Ibid.*, p. 55, &c.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 60; Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., 410.

picture which is perfectly appalling. Scarce a church but what is described as *ruined* wholly or partially; great numbers of benefices are returned as held by the same incumbent, and the stipends of the ministers are miserably insufficient.* Yet it is said that the diocese of Meath was at that time the best arranged and most civilized part of Ireland;† What, then, must have been the state of things amidst the mountains of Kerry or the wilds of Galway? Usher, however, was able to reconcile it to his conscience to be for the next few years chiefly absent in England. He grew greatly into favour with King James on account of his learning, and one of the last acts of that King was to appoint him Primate of the Church in Ireland. It seems

* 78 churches are reported in a state of repair, 150 ruinous. On 232 benefices there were only 76 parsonage-houses in repair. The income of the clergy a few marks, sometimes a few shillings. In *Armagh*, at the same time: benefices, 57; churches in sufficient repair, 51; in ruins, 18; parsonage-houses, 20; impropriations (where there was sometimes duty, sometimes none), 33; value of highest benefice, £120, lowest, £2 or £3; impropriations, from £5 to 5*s*. In *Kilmore* and *Ardagh:* benefices, 64; churches, in repair, 14; in ruins, 55; parsonage-houses, 13; some cures not served for want of means. In one case, the curate locked out of the church by Earl of Westmeath, the impropriator. In *Clogher:* benefices, 37; churches, in repair, 5; in ruins, 28; parsonage-houses, 4; average value of benefices, £32 10*s*. a year. In *Derry:* benefices, 45; churches in repair, 9; in ruins, 33; parsonage-houses, 13. In many parishes in this diocese the whole duty was performed by an Irish parish clerk. In *Raphoe:* benefices, 27; churches, in repair, 9; in ruins, 17; parsonage-houses, 2. *Down* and *Connen:* benefices, 126; churches in repair, 16; in ruins, 110. The tithes had been generally impropriated, so that it was necessary to unite six or eight livings together to pay a minister, and, in some cases, to leave the cure altogether unserved.—Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., 395—407.

† Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 57.

Chap. XIV. almost incredible that the new primate should not have returned to Ireland for a year and a half after his appointment, especially as he received such lamentable accounts of the state of things there. The Bishop of Kilmore thus writes to him:—"The growth of the Irish Church receives every day more impediments and contradictions than ever, and that not only in Ulster, but begins to spread itself into other places, so that the inheritance of the Church is made arbitrary at the council table; impropriators, in all places, may hold all ancient customs, only they upon whom the cure of souls is laid are debarred. Within the diocese of Ardagh the whole clergy, being all poor vicars and curates, by a declaration of one of the Judges this last circuit, without speedy remedy will be brought to much decay—the which I rather mention as it is in your province."*

The cold and weak support with which the Anglican Church in Ireland was backed, encouraged the Romanists to think that out of the King's great necessities and pressing need of money, they might gain for themselves some substantial concessions. Accordingly, a grand meeting of their principal nobility and gentry was held in Dublin, and agreed to offer large contributions to purchase security to their lands, and a suspension of the penal statutes. Lord Falkland encouraged their design, and advised them to send agents to England; and upon the strength of this, all of that

* Letter of Bishop Moygne, quoted in Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 69.

religion began to carry themselves as though toleration were already granted. This, at least, could not be beheld by the Protestant prelates without alarm; the notion of a toleration for Papists had in it a stimulating power, which ruined churches and dilapidated glebe houses had failed to exercise. The lord primate and eleven other bishops signed a protest declaring the religion of the Papists anti-christian, and the granting them toleration for the sake of money the setting religion up to sale. This judgment of the bishops was published in a sermon by Downham, Bishop of Derry, and confirmed and defended on the following Sunday by the eloquence of Usher.* The opposition of the bishops prevented the Government deriving any great help from the purses of the recusants, and the lord deputy very naturally called on the Protestant primate to assist him in finding some substitute for that to which he had so stoutly objected. Usher accordingly made a speech in the Council Chamber strongly urging the importance of contributing to the King's needs, and for the support of a standing army.† The speech of the Lord Primate failed to produce much effect, and the Romanists were able to find a way to the King's presence in spite of his opposition. In return for their voluntary contributions, they received a considerable amount of favour and support. Encouraged by this, they began to celebrate their religion with public solemnity, and with the full parade of their

* Collier, *Church History*, viii., 18; Elrington's *Usher*, 74-5.
† Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, i., 427.

Chap. XIV. ostentatious ritual. They seized churches for their service, erected monasteries and colleges, so that the Protestants, exasperated beyond measure, almost compelled the lord deputy to issue a proclamation against them. The Romanists, confident of support in high quarters, treated the proclamation with contempt.* In the strife that ensued they proved the stronger, and Falkland, like his predecessor, was sacrificed to their clamours. We now hear of the Carmelites appearing in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrating their religious rites in one of the most frequented streets of Dublin. A riot ensued, in which the Archbishop of Dublin took a personal part, and the scandal of these occurrences at length roused the English Government to take the state of the Irish Church into their serious consideration. A letter was addressed to the archbishops requiring them, in rather sharp terms, to see that their suffragans did their duty, and enforced activity in their clergy, and "that they live answerable to the doctrine which they preach to the people." The bishops were bid not to keep the benefices which fell vacant in their own hands, nor to give them to "young and mean men," on condition of receiving the greatest part of the stipend.† A miserable state of things is indicated in this letter. All was in a wild confusion. Lord Chancellor Loftus held an archdeaconry of good value,‡ and even the

* Mant, i., 429.

† King's letter in Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 107, where see note, giving instances of these abuses.

‡ It seems doubtful whether the Lord Chancellor was in deacon's

archbishop's chaplains were notorious for their plurality. Chap. XIV.

A bishop now appeared on the scene, who, together with the opinions, had also the zeal and activity of Laud, and, for the first time since the Reformation, a real practical attempt was made to reach the native Irish. This prelate was an Englishman—Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore. He was accused of being an Arminian, of bowing at the name of Jesus, and of erecting an altar; but he was a man of a wise and understanding heart, and a godly zeal. He first attempted the translating the Scriptures into Irish, and published a short catechism, in Irish and English, for the instruction of the ignorant people. Archbishop Usher, with a strange narrow-mindedness, opposed his plans.* "But no man," says Usher's excellent modern biographer, "is entirely perfect. He was not made for the governing part of his function."† But the Irish Primate, at any rate, had the merit of offering no factious opposition to the measures which Archbishop Laud, and his bosom friend Lord Strafford, now Lord Deputy of Ireland, de-

orders or not. Dr. Elrington says he was a layman, but Laud thus writes to Usher:—"I understand by Mr. Hamilton that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is in Holy order, and that, being deacon, he holds an archdeaconry yet of good value. Surely, my lord, if this be so, there is somewhat in it that I will not express by letter; but, were I his superior in ordinary, I know what I would do, and that I have plainly expressed both to his Majesty and the Lords' Committees."—Laud's Works, vi., i., 273.

* King Charles greatly approved of them. "The King likes wondrous well of the Irish lecture begun by Mr. Bedell."—Laud to Usher. Laud's Works, vi., i., 261.

† Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 120.

Chap. XIV. signed for the improvement of the Church. Strafford was full of zeal for the Church's interests, and was in constant correspondence with Laud as to what could be done to mend its condition. The state of things which he found on his entering Ireland is best described by a letter from his chaplain Bramhall to Bishop Laud, written about the time that a royal visitation of the Church was being carried on by the Lord Deputy.*

"My most honoured lord—Presuming partly upon your licence, but especially directed by my lord deputy's commands, I am to give your fatherhood a brief account of the present state of the now Church of Ireland. First, for the fabricks; it is hard to say whether the churches be more ruinous and sordid or the people irreverent. Even in Dublin we find one parochial church converted to the lord deputy's stable,† a second to a nobleman's dwelling-house, the choir of a third to a tennis-court, and the vicar acts the keeper! In Christ Church, the principal church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and the Council repair every Sunday, the vaults, from one end of the minster to the other, are made into tippling rooms for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to Popish recusants, and by them and others so much frequented in time of divine service, that though there is no

* Bramhall's Works, vol. i., p. 79, Oxf. ed.

† Laud had already heard of this, and taken steps to alter it. "I humbly pray your lordship to remember what you have promised me concerning the church in Dublin, which hath for divers years been used as a stable by your predecessors, and to vindicate it to God's service."—Laud to Strafford, Laud's Works, vi., i., 307.

danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes. The table used for administration of the blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices. I cannot omit the glorious tomb in the other Cathedral Church of St. Patrick in the proper place of the altar, just opposite to his Majesty's seat, having his father's name superscribed upon it, as if it were contrived on purpose to gain the worship and reverence which the chapter and whole church are bound by statute to pay towards the east.* Next, for the clergy. I find few footsteps yet of foreign differences, so I hope it will be an easier task not to admit them than to have them ejected. But I doubt much whether the clergy be very orthodox, and could wish both that the Articles and Canons of the Church of England were established here by act of Parliament or State; that as we live all under one king, so we might both in doctrine and discipline observe an uniformity. The inferior sort of ministers are below all degrees of contempt, in respect of their poverty and ignorance; the boundless heaping together of benefices by *commendams* and *dispensations* in the superiors is but too apparent; yea, even often by plain usurpation, and indirect compositions made between the patrons (ecclesiastic as well as lay) and the incumbents;† Chap. XIV.

* This was the tomb of the Earl of Cork, about which there was much and long disputing. It was at last removed by Lord Strafford.

† Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford, obtained a patent from King James to hold *in commendam* with his bishopric, all the dig-

Chap. XIV. by which the least part, many times not above 40*s.*, rarely £10 in the year is reserved for him that should serve at the altar; insomuch, that it is affirmed, that by all or some of these means, one bishop, in the remoter parts of the kingdom, doth hold three-and-twenty benefices with cure. Generally, their residence is as little as their livings. Seldom any suitor petitions for less than three benefices at a time. Lastly, for the revenues, how small care hath been taken for the service of his Majesty or the good of the Church is hereby apparent, that no officer or other person can inform my lord what deanery or benefices are in his Majesty's gift, and about three hundred livings are omitted out of the book of tax for *first-fruits* and *twentieths*, sundry of them of good value; two or three bishoprics, and the whole diocese of Kilfannore. The Earl of Cork holds the whole bishopric of Lismore, at the rate of 40*s.*, or five marks by the year; many benefices that ought to be presentative, are, by negligence, enjoyed as if they were appropriate."

nities, promotions, and benefices which he possessed, and all benefices, dignities, and promotions, either with or without cure, compatible or incompatible, in Ireland, in his or any other's patronage! This is probably without parallel. The nephew, however, of this scandalous prelate, Michael, Bishop of Cork, followed his uncle's example in refusing to fill up incumbencies on pretence of not being able to find ministers, and keeping the revenues to himself. —(Note to Elrington's *Usher*, p. 107). We find from Laud's letters, that the Bishop of Waterford owed St. John's College, Oxford, £35, and could not be got to pay his debt. The Primate is very severe on him. "I have known," he says, "the Bishop of Waterford long, and when he lived in the College he would have done anything, or sold any man for sixpence profit."—Laud's Works, vi., ii., 352.

We have no reason to suppose that the testimony of the writer of this letter, one of the most eminent divines whom our Church has produced, is to be discredited. If the letter, however, be true, it imprints a deep stain on the reputation of Archbishop Usher. Many of these scandals must have been within his power to abate. Lord Strafford at once set himself in earnest to endeavour to reform these miserable abuses.* Nothing can be more melancholy than his statement of them to Archbishop Laud: "An unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any way reverenced or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught; the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity; the possessions of the Church, to a great proportion, in lay hands; the bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers; the schools ill-provided, ill-governed; lands given for charitable uses dissipated, leased forth for little or nothing." †

* He was well encouraged in his work by Laud, and bid not to spare the great offenders. "If any bishop be as bad for oppression of the Church as any layman, that I am sure is unanswerable, and if it appear so to you great pity it is; but some one or other of the chief offenders should be made a public example and turned out of his bishopric. And I believe such a course, once held, would do more good in Ireland than anything that hath been there this forty years."—Laud to Strafford; Laud's Works, vi., i., 333.

† *Strafford's Letters*, i., 187-8, quoted by Elrington; Mant, i., 474, sq.

Chap. XIV. 1634. To remedy the crying grievances both in Church and State, the Lord Deputy received the King's permission to call a Parliament. This accordingly met, and the Convocation with it. Lord Strafford's determination, which was doubtless suggested by Laud, and which was approved by the King, was "to have the Articles of England received in *ipsissimis verbis*, leaving the other as no ways concerned, in the state they now are, either affirmed or disaffirmed."* It had been expected that Usher would have been opposed to the practical abolishing of the articles which he himself had drawn up. At first, indeed, he seemed ready to yield, but afterwards retracted his assent. The Lord Deputy was, however, determined to proceed. The clergy, after having granted eight subsidies, adopted a petition to the King, to devise some remedy for the wretched state of the rural clergy and the ruined churches. The Lower House then, without consulting the bishops,† appointed a committee to consider the canons of the Church of England; went through the canons, marking some with an A as approved, others with a D as to be deliberated on; and in the fifth canon, which establishes the articles of the Church of England, under pain of excommunication, they substituted the articles of the Church of Ireland for those of the Church of England. Lord Strafford, hearing of these proceedings, at once put a stop to them with a high hand. He would not allow them to discuss the articles of the

* *Strafford's Letters*, i., 298.
† Elrington's *Usher*, 174.

Church of England, but caused the primate to draw up a canon or resolution, which brought the question of the acceptance or rejection of the English articles, *as a whole*, at once to the vote.* Heylin says† that much craft and politic management was used in the business. The Convocation, he says, were ready to affirm the Irish articles, but they were told "that those articles had already received as much authority as that Church could give them, and that by seeking to procure any such confirmation, they would weaken the original power by which they stood."‡ Only one man,§ he says, penetrated the design before it was too late, but all the rest united in voting the following canons:—

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The Irish Convocation adopts the English thirty-nine articles.

"Of the agreement of the Church of England and Ireland, in the profession of the same Christian faith."

"For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England, in the confession of the same Christian faith and doctrine of the Sacraments, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops, and the whole clergy in Convocation, holden at London, A.D. 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent touching true religion. And, therefore, if any

* Strafford's narrative, quoted by Elrington, p. 172.

† *Life of Laud*, p. 271.

‡ This was the argument used by Bishop Bramhall.—See Vesey's *Life of Bramhall;* Mant, i., 490.

§ "A Nonconformist minister from the diocese of Down."—Mant.

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hereafter shall affirm that any of those articles are in any way superstitious and erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved until he make a public recantation of his error."

Whether the primate was surprised or constrained into yielding on the subject of the adoption of the English articles, it is certain that he had no intention of abandoning altogether the Irish. He wrote to Dr. Ward, "The articles of religion agreed upon in our former synod, we *let stand as they did before*. But for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your articles also concluded in the year 1562, as you may see in the first of our canons."* In accordance with this view, the primate and some other bishops resolved to require the Irish clergy to subscribe both bodies of articles. This, however, only lasted for a very short time;† they soon perceived the absurdity of a church with two distinct and different confessions,‡ and the Irish articles were henceforth abandoned. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the articles of 1615 in no way bind the Irish clergy now. They were never *legally* binding, not having been conformed by Parliament, and the introduction of a new set of articles by the act of the same Church, which agreed

Thereby abrogating the Irish articles.

* Elrington's *Usher*, p. 176; Mant, i., 491.

† Mant says till the time of the Irish Rebellion, 1641.—*Church History*, i., 495.

‡ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 273.

to the former, as a matter of course supersedes them.* The English party had greater difficulty with the primate with regard to the canons. It appears to be doubtful whether any canons were in force in the Church of Ireland previously to this Convocation; at any rate, the work of uniformity was still incomplete until the English canons of 1604 had been accepted in Ireland. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, now, therefore, earnestly set about endeavouring to effect this. "He would fain have got the English canons established in Ireland, but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours he could obtain no more, through a jealous carefulness on the part of many among his fellow-bishops, and especially of the primate, Usher, for the liberties of the Church of Ireland, than that such of our canons 'as were fit to be transplanted among the Irish should be removed thither, and others new framed and added to them.'"† This jealousy of Usher for the nationality of his Church has been productive of considerable disadvantages. At the present moment it is not certain what canons are in force in Ireland. The Act of Union declares for the English code; the Irish Convocation has never ratified any but the one passed in 1634.‡ But although this discrepancy may have somewhat marred the work of Laud and Strafford, the English

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Frames canons.

* See Bishop Taylor's sermon on Archbishop Bramhall, Bramhall's Works, i., 73; Heylin's *Laud*, 273; Mant, i., 494.

† *Bramhall's Life*, Works, i., 7; Mant, i., 495-6.

‡ "The question," says Dr. Elrington, "is beset with difficulties, and has not, I believe, been ever legally determined."—Elrington's *Life of Usher*, p. 179, note.

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primate might well congratulate himself on the great amount of success which had been attained. So long as the Calvinistic and Puritanical articles of 1615 remained in force, there could be no real union between the Churches of England and Ireland. Now the way was smoothed for a complete and energetic co-operation. Accordingly, under the vigorous agency of Bishop Bramhall, some of the worst abuses which disgraced the Irish Church begin to disappear. *

Laud persecutes the French and Dutch Churches in England.

From the useful and successful work which Laud had thus accomplished in the matter of uniformity in Ireland, we turn to another work of his for which it would be difficult to offer a valid apology. The attack on the French and Dutch Protestants begun by him when Bishop of London, was now followed up with unflinching purpose. They are bid to repair to their parish churches, and perform all duties and payments, under pain of excommunication. In vain do the Flemish weavers of Norwich, who had brought their skill and industry to enrich England, petition for the liberty which had been formally granted to them by Elizabeth and James.† The Archbishop is inexorable, and insists upon all born in England leaving their old places of worship and the ministrations of their own pastors, and submitting themselves in all points to the English discipline. Rather than yield, many of

* Bishop Taylor's Sermon; Bramhall's Works, i., 61.

† Rushworth, ii., 272. Not only did all the ten Churches in England petition, but they induced the foreign Protestant Churches also to petition the King on their behalf. All, however, was of no avail. See Heylin's *Laud*, p. 279.

these men quitted their adopted country, and carried the priceless commodity of their mechanical skill into Germany or the Low Countries. The diocese of Norwich alone is said to have lost three thousand of these hard-working foreigners.* In the Northern Province they were equally ill-used, for Neile, a man as contemptible as primate at York, as he had been as a Court hanger-on in the time of King James, was even more intolerant towards them than Laud himself.

Report of the Province of Canterbury, Jan., 1634.

The first report of the state of his Province which Archbishop Laud presented to the King, in January of this year, seems to indicate a sufficiently quiet and orderly state of things. The excitement as to the publication of the *Book of Sports* had in some measure subsided, and the Injunctions aimed at lecturers had almost succeeded in silencing those dangerously popular preachers. The Bishop of London certifies that he has not received a complaint against any since his coming to that see, at Michaelmas. The Bishop of Bath and Wells had put down several lecturers in market towns, who were beneficed in other dioceses, and came and preached factious sermons in his diocese, and then rapidly retreated to another county.† The Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry had put down several monthly lectures, kept with a fast and managed by

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 221. Some of these manufacturers in woollen goods, clothes, &c., employed as many as a hundred labourers.

† "If he were surprised in one county, he would go and preach in another, for his habitation was near to two or three counties."—Clarke's *Life of Mr. Blackerby*, p. 59.

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a moderator. He had also suppressed a meeting called the "running lecture." This was so called because the lecturer went from village to village, and at the end of the week gave public warning where they might find him for the next exercise.* The Bishops of St. Asaph and Llandaff report their dioceses as altogether free from troubles. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, complains of the people in Bedfordshire leaving their parish churches to follow popular preachers. This he says he has given orders to stop. He likewise says that as for the placing of the communion table, he takes care of it, pursuant to the canon. (It is doubtful whether this last remark must not be considered as meant equivocally.) The Bishop of Ely reports his diocese orderly. From ten other bishops of his province the primate had received no report.†

"It was now a time," says Lord Clarendon, "of great ease and tranquillity. The Church was not repined at either in doctrine or discipline, yet the nation generally was not without a jealousy that Popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting what they had not been used to, which they called *innovation*, and were easily persuaded that anything of that kind was but to please the Papists."‡ This word *innovation* soon began to be in everybody's mouth, as applied to the work of the Primate and his friends. Laud

* "He used much to ride about from family to family, and only alight and pray with them, and give them some heavenly exhortation, and then away to another family."—Clarke's *Life of Blackerby*, p. 59.

† Collier, *Church Hist.*, viii., 82; Appendix to Laud's *Troubles*.

‡ Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 37, Oxf. ed., 1843.

had, indeed, great cause to bestir himself in the matter of restoring the fabrics and adding solemnity to the ritual, but the excess and imprudence of his zeal marred his praiseworthy purpose. "He never studied the best ways to his ends," says the same great writer, "and did not enough consider what men said, or were like to say of him. He prosecuted this affair more passionately than was fit for the season."* The churches were in many places ruinous, the chancels uncared for. Dirt and disorder, such as would not be tolerated in a dwelling-house, was the too common condition of the house of God. The rain and wind found entrance through dilapidated roofs and broken windows, and everything was slovenly and wretched.† This state of things the Archbishop undertook to reform, requiring the other bishops to concur with him in the good work; "yet I know not how," says Clarendon, "the prosecution of it with too much affectation of expense, it may be, or with too much passion between the ministers and parishioners, raised an evil spirit towards the Church."‡ The reforms were begun at Lambeth. In the chapel of the Primate of all England, the windows were

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Laud begins the work of church restoration.

Lambeth chapel.

* Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 38-39.

† "I do receive," writes Archbishop Abbot, in 1619, "complaint out of almost all countries, that the churches are neither repaired nor seemly adorned as is fit for the house of God."—Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, ii., 134. "Mr. Catlin, preaching at Bury, in his sermon said thus much *obiter* which I heard: 'We are blamed for our churches, but it is certain that these courts (bishops' courts) extract more from us than will repair our churches, adorn them, and keep them so.'"—*Diary of Rev. John Rous*, (C. S.) p. 69.

‡ Lord Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 38.

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broken, and "the chapel lay so nastily," says Laud, "that I was ashamed to behold, and could not resort unto it but with some disdain. This caused me to repair it at my great cost.* I made up the history of those old broken pictures by help of the fragments and remainders of them, which I compared with the story. The furniture of the chapel was such as is in the King's chapel at Whitehall. The arras-piece at the back of the table contained the story of Christ's last Supper. I took my pattern of the *Credentia* from Bishop Andrewes's chapel. The copes were such as were prescribed by the canon."† The restorations and ritualism of Lambeth were even exceeded by what was witnessed at Canterbury. We take the following account of the furniture of the holy table there from the Puritan historian, Neal—a very suspected source, but other things confirm its correctness. "The cathedral of Canterbury was furnished with two candlesticks, tapers, a basin for oblations, a cushion for the service-book, a silver-gilt canister for the wafers,‡ like a wicker basket, lined with cambric lace; the tonne on a cradle; a chalice with the image of Christ and the lost sheep, and of the wise men and star, engraved on the sides and cover. The chalice was covered with a linen napkin, called

Canterbury cathedral.

* "His glazier's bill amounted to no less than £148 7*s*. 6*d*."—Heylin. He also repaired the chapel at Croydon at great cost, and furnished it with rich plate and copes.

† Laud's answer to the Commons, Rushworth, ii., 273—280.

‡ Archbishop Laud says, "I never either gave or received the communion but in ordinary bread. At Westminster I knew wafer-bread was sometimes used, but as a thing indifferent."—*Troubles*, p. 342.

the aire, embroidered with coloured silk; two patins, the tricanale, being a round ball with a screw cover, out of which issued three pipes for the water of mixture;* a credentia, or side-table, with a basin and ewer on napkins, and a towel, to wash before consecration; on some altars there was a pot called the incense pot, and a knife to cut the communion bread.† The consecration of this furniture was after this manner. The Archbishop in his cope, with two chaplains in their surplices, having bowed several times towards the altar, read a portion of Scripture; then the vessels to be consecrated were delivered into the hands of the Archbishop, who, after he had placed them upon the altar, read a form of prayer, desiring God to bless and accept of these vessels which he severally touched and elevated, offering them up to God, after which they were not put to any common use."‡ At Winchester it appears that considerable disorders had grown up during the deaneries of Abbot, Morton, and Young. Laud, however, had placed in that see a man on whom he could depend; and sure of his co-operation, he directed his vicar-general to take measures for bringing in a fitting solemnity and

Winchester.

* This practice was not uncommon at that time. Laud, when rector of Allhallows, Barking, introduced it there, and it continued to be observed there in the last century.—Robertson, *On Liturgy*, p. 189.

† "There was, indeed, an ordinary knife provided among other things belonging to the administration of the communion, for the cutting of bread, and *divers other uses*, in the church vestry. But that it was ever consecrated, or so called, he (Dr. Cosin) never heard, nor believed anybody else had."—Cosin's defence, Works, i., 28, Oxf. ed.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 213.

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pomp in the cathedral services. They were bid to discontinue the practice of allowing part of the service to be read by the lay vicars, to place their communion table altar-wise, to bow reverentially towards it in coming in and going out of the choir, to provide four rich copes to be used at the celebration of the Eucharist. Chichester also was directed to provide copes, and not to neglect the prescribed adorations towards the holy table. At Worcester the utmost wishes of Laud had been anticipated by Dr. Mainwaring, who had applied himself to a task certain to be acceptable in high places. "He erected a fair table of marble, standing on four well-fashioned columns; he covered the wall behind the same with hangings of azure-coloured stuff, having white silk lace upon every seam, and furnished it with palls and fronts, as he had observed it in his Majesty's and some bishops' chapels, and ordered the King's scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the choir, to go in rank, by two and two, and make their due obeisances at their coming in."* At many of the other cathedrals Laud took similar measures for reviving the "ancient splendour" of worship; rich copes, covered with gold and silver embroidery, were again seen by a Protestant congregation, and the lowly genuflexions and bowings of the priests seemed to the ignorant spectators to be a return to the worship of God incarnate in the sacramental wafer.†

Worcester.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 292.

† To combat this obvious inference on the part of the people,

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To those who held the high doctrines on the subject of the Eucharist, which distinguished Laud and his school, a sight even more painful than dilapidated churches must have been the holy table standing in the midst of the parish church, surrounded by seats, and the common lounging-place of the irreverent portion of the congregation. "It was commonly used," says Sanderson, "for the lolling elbow-ease of the idle hearers, and not only so, but to sit upon, or else loaden with caps and hats of every boy."* The Archbishop therefore determined to attack at once and vigorously this crying abuse. The law of the case was doubtful,† but he had the late decision in the case of St. Gregory's Church to urge as precedent,‡ as well as the general customary arrangements in the royal chapels and most of the cathedrals of the land. It had been ruled in the case of St. Gregory's, that the position of the holy table was a matter for the ordinary to settle, not the parishioners, and accordingly we find now Laud's suffragans making in-

The holy table ordered to be placed altar-wise and railed in.

Morton, Bishop of Durham, was eagerly quoted, who distinguished between the Romish manner of bowing towards the altar, for the adoration of the Eucharist only, and the Anglican manner of bowing as well when there was no Eucharist, which was supposed to show a more spiritual intent.

* *Reign of King Charles*, p. 195.

† "By the rubric, the position was left to custom and the ordinary, but there was a diversity in practice."—Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 165.

‡ Archbishop Abbot's decision in the case of Crayford, does not decide the question of the table standing *altar-wise*, but only authorizes its being placed in the chancel, instead of the body of the church. This Williams, in his letter to the Vicar of Grantham, directs also.—See Cardwell's *Doc. Annals*, ii., 174.

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quiries and giving directions as to its position. It is said by Clarendon,* that there was a great difference of opinion among the bishops themselves in this matter, some of them holding with the decision of Bishop Williams in the case of the Vicar of Grantham (1627), that the table was to be placed east and west, and to be moveable; others, and especially those who had been promoted by Laud, maintaining that it ought to be placed north and south, close against the east wall, never to be moved, and divided off from the body of the church "by a rail of joiner's work." The latter party chiefly relied on an injunction of Elizabeth (1562), which directed that the holy table should be set at the time of communion, in the place *where the altar stood;* the former on the eighty-second canon of 1604, which orders the table so to be placed, as "thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants." It is evident that both the injunction and the canon imply that the table was to be moveable. A very exaggerated importance, due to the bitter state of feeling then pervading the country, was given to this dispute.† Dr. Heylin on one side, and Bishop Williams on the other, were the principal contro-

Controversy on this matter.

* *Hist. Rebellion*, p. 39, Oxf. ed. Thus too Heylin: "If all the bishops of that time had joined their hearts and hands together for carrying on the work of uniformity, the service might have gone more happily forward, &c.—*Life of Laud*, 313.

† "Men's minds, distempered in this age with what I may call a mutinous tendency, were exasperated with such small occasions as otherwise might have been passed over, and no notice taken thereof."—Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 55.

versial champions.* "On this unhappy subject," says Clarendon, "proceeded a schism among the bishops themselves, and a world of uncharitableness in the learned and moderate clergy toward one another. And without doubt, many who loved the church, nor did dislike the order and decency which they saw mended, yet they liked not any novelties, and so were liable to entertain jealousies that more was intended than was hitherto proposed."† The weapons which the bishops who were favourable to Laud's views used to enforce the change, were the Court of High Commission, before which those who refused to obey their injunctions were summoned, and the still more ready and effectual weapon of excommunication. Some of the earliest sufferers under this terrible censure were the Churchwardens of Beckington in Somersetshire. They had refused to remove and rail in the communion table, and pull down the seats which stood above at the east end of the chancel. The Bishop of Bath and Wells excommunicated them.‡ The churchwardens appealed to the Court of Arches, and obtained with difficulty a suspension of the sentence for a few

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Case of the Churchwardens of Beckington.

* The following was the order of the controversial treatises on this matter: 1. Williams's *Letter to the Vicar of Grantham* (1627). 2. Heylin's *Coal from the Altar*. 3. Williams's *Holy Table, Name, and Thing*. 4. *Antidotum Lincolniense* (Heylin). There was also *Altare Christianum* (Dr. Pocklington), and many others.—See Robertson's *Liturgy*, p. 159; Lathbury's *Hist. of Prayer Book*, 168-9.

† *Hist. Rebellion*, p. 39.

‡ Bishop Pierce was one of the most vigorous of the Laudian bishops. Before the end of this year, 140 out of 469 parishes in his diocese had conformed in this matter.

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weeks. It was then renewed. A second time they appealed, but without effect. The King refused to listen to their expostulations. They were thrown into the common gaol, and remained there a long time. They were not, in fact, released until they had submitted to the Bishop's will, and done public penance for their contumacy.*. It was thus shown that the Laudian bishops were not to be trifled with. A stern disciplinarian, who feared neither prince nor peasant, and struck at high and low alike, was at the helm of the Church, and supported as he was by the King, there was no remedy, short of his overthrow, except implicit obedience.

Clergy begin to show more self-respect.

It was now remarked that the clergy, strong in the power of their chief, held themselves higher, and began to drop the tone of servile dependence on the great which had so much disgraced them.† Under the lax discipline of Abbot, they had almost laid aside all the distinctive dress of their order; now it was universally resumed under pain of ecclesiastical censure.‡ Thus taught to respect them-

* Rushworth, ii., 300. The churchwardens of Ipswich were excommunicated for the same matter by one of the surrogates of Sir N. Brent, Laud's Vicar-General.

† Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 39; Heylin's *Laud*, 251.

‡ *Complete History of England*, iii., 73. Sir N. Brent gives this admonition to the clergy of Lincolnshire, Aug. 11, 1634: "All who wanted canonical cloaks, commonly called priests' cloaks, should provide themselves before Allhallowtide next on pain of ecclesiastical censure." The new clerical strictness of course provoked satirical attacks. The following effusion written this year will be found amusing:—

"THE NEW CHURCHMAN.

"A ceremonious, light-timber'd ſcholar,
With a little dam-mee peeping over his collar,

selves, their churches, and their order, they found too in the Archbishop a sturdy champion for their temporal rights. The London clergy had presented to the King a petition (May, 1634), stating that their benefices were once very valuable, but

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Tithes of London churches.

With a cardinal's cap broad as a cart-wheel,
With a long coat and caſſock down to his heele,
See a new churchman of the times,
O the times! the times new churchman!

"With long haire and a ſhort grace,
Which being ſharpe-ſet he ſnaps up apace,
And after dinner ſuch a little touch,
His belly is ſo full he cannot ſay much.
"See, &c.

"His gravity rides up and down,
In a long coate or a ſhort gown,
And swears by the halfe football on his pate,
That no man is predeſtinate.
"See, &c.

"His divinity is truſt up with five points,
He dops, ducks, bowes as made all of joints,
But when his Roman nose ſtands full eaſt,
He fears neither God nor beast.
"See, &c.

"He hopes to be ſaved by previſion
Of good works, but will do none;
He will be no Proteſtant but a Chriſtian,
And comes out Catholick the next edition.
"See, &c.

"Some half dozen of benefices down his gullet,
He gapes as though his belly were not full yet,
And ſure his curate muſt be turned away,
If he chance to preach twice a day.
"See &c.

"On faſting-nights he hath a collation,
And on Sundays a great preparation,
Of cardes, dice, and high joviality,
And all to confute the formality.
"See, &c."

From the *Diary of Rev. John Rous*, C. S., p. 78.

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that through a fraudulent practice of the citizens in letting their houses at merely nominal rents, and receiving the great bulk of the remuneration under the name of fines, on which no tithes were paid, they were defrauded of their just due. Thus many of the livings had been reduced to the value of £40 and under, and only one in the City, Christchurch, was worth £350 per annum. Their cause was strongly taken up by Laud, and his friend Juxon, now Bishop of London, and the Aldermen and Common Council were forced much against their will, as representatives for the City, to refer the matter to the arbitrement of the King.*

Report of the Province of Canterbury, 1635.

The Archbishop's return of the state of his province this year, shows an increasing zeal on the part of the bishops to root out and hunt down everything the least opposed to the opinions and practices now in the ascendant. The Archbishop himself reports that he had discovered some separatists near Ashford, with whom he should "take order." He also treats as a grievance to be removed, the existence of the French and Dutch churches of which we have already spoken. The Bishop of Salisbury (Davenant), was active, but Wiltshire was "overgrown with the humours of those who do not conform." The Cathedral of Salisbury was "much pestered with seats, which he had given orders to remove, and hoped his Majesty would approve, as well as he did at York and Durham." The dioceses of Bristol and Bath and Wells were progressing satisfactorily. In Exeter

* Rushworth, ii., 269.

there was a great feud between the dean and the chapter, and between the dean and chapter and the City, but he "must do my Lord Bishop (Hall) this right, that for his Majesty's instructions they had been carefully observed." The great diocese of Lincoln does not figure very creditably. Bedfordshire is "tainted" with Nonconformity, Lincoln abounds with Anabaptists. "In divers parts the clergy and laity excessively given to drunkenness;" Boston was "a great nursery of inconformity;" "Louth somewhat to blame;" the cathedral of the diocese in ill repair. These dioceses he had visited* himself, and found in all one general complaint, the excessive poverty of the poor vicars, especially in great market towns. "He humbly thanks his Majesty some good had already been done for them; and he should pursue all just and fair means to give them relief, humbly beseeching his Majesty's gracious assistance." Of the other dioceses in the province, returns had been made from all except four, the chief points in which were: In the diocese of Winchester, there was some defect about catechizing, and divers obstinate recusants. The Bishop of Norwich (Corbet), reported that he had put down some lecturers, and cited Mr. Ward of Ipswich before the Court of High Commission for some words spoken by him in a

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* It was not without great opposition on the part of Williams, that the Archbishop visited the diocese of Lincoln. The Bishop pleaded an ancient exemption of his diocese from metropolitan interference. The matter was referred to Attorney-General Noy, and decided in favour of Laud.—Hacket's *Life of Williams;* Collier, viii., 88.

Chap. XIV. 1635. sermon, and made "two wandering preachers run out of his diocese." The Bishop of Ely certified all well. The Bishop of St. David's complained grievously that "divers impropriators in those parts have either pulled down the chancels, or suffered them to fall,* or left them so open and cold, that the people in those mountainous parts must endure a great deal of hardship." The Bishop of St. Asaph reports that they were not troubled with inconformity, but "heartily wishes they might be as well acquitted from superstition and profaneness." The Bishop of Llandaff had admonished the Vicar of Cardiff, and suspended his curate for schismatical preaching. The Bishop of Gloucester (Goodman) certified that he was forced to ordain some very mean ministers, and also had set up some lecturers.† The Bishop of Oxford (Bancroft, a nephew of Archbishop Bancroft, and a great friend of Laud), reported all well, and that he had built the house at Cuddesden, which he held *in commendam*, and

* Thus in his speech to the judges, June, 1635, Lord Keeper Coventry complains: "The churches and towns are demolished, and the people eaten up like bread, to satisfy the greedy desires of a few."—Rushworth, ii., 295.

† Against this the King noted in the margin: "I must be satisfied that the occasions were very necessary, otherwise he shall answer it." Bishop Goodman stood in very ill repute at Court at present. He is said by Heylin to have actually paid a large sum of money as a *bribe* for the Bishopric of Hereford, to some great officer of state, so that "his money was taken, his *congé d'elire* issued out, and his election passed." Laud, however, heard of it, and informing the King, at once quashed the design. Heylin's *Laud*, 263.—It is somewhat remarkable that the two bishops whom Heylin most vigorously assails (Williams and Goodman) had both of them refused him institution into livings to which he had been presented, with defective title.

desired it might be annexed to the see. Chichester and Peterborough were reported all well.*

Thus Laud drove gallantly onward on the road towards his great objects—a complete uniformity, a decorous ritualism, and a clergy whose doctrines should be fashioned after his own model. But on every side of him, and upon each of these grounds, enemies were rising up, whose rapidly increasing numbers he either did not mark, or if he marked, did not regard. "The clamour," says Bishop Hacket, "might have warned wisdom to stop. Policy ought to listen abroad to the talk of the streets and the market-places, and not to despise rumours when they are sharpened against the innovating of any discipline."† The increased strictness of Church-discipline and the rising importance of the clergy, not to mention the system of minute espionage to which they were encouraged to resort, must naturally have offended the country gentlemen who were wont to look down, as from a considerable eminence, on the poor and dependent minister of their parish. One of the most marked features of the times is the desertion of the country by the landed proprietors, and their aggregation in great numbers in and about London and Westminster. This practice was censured and forbidden in a proclamation, and in one day above two hundred of the delinquents were cited to appear before the council. They were accused of resorting to the town, and spending their substance on vain

Country gentlemen dissatisfied.

Their resort to London and Westminster forbidden.

* Appendix to Laud's *History of his Troubles.*

† Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 100.

Chap. XIV. 1635. frivolities, instead of keeping hospitality in the country and relieving the poor.* Meantime, either from the increasing value of wool, or in order to rid themselves of importunate poor, they were very generally *depopulating* their estates, turning arable into pasture, pulling down cottages, and suffering churches to go to decay.† Doubtless, a great cause of this distaste to country life, and desire to be in or near the capital, was the nervous anxiety and impatience to hear the news, which the overbearing policy of the Court and the discontented state of the country naturally produced. In vain did the King establish a running-post, to "run night and day between Edinburgh in Scotland, and the city of London, to go thither and come back again in six days;" and the like for Holyhead and Ireland; for Plymouth and Exeter; for Oxford, Bristol, and Norwich: with a uniform rate of payment for letters, of twopence per sixty miles.‡ The men who had taken part in the late exciting Parliamentary struggles could not be content to reside quietly buried in the country, leaving all the affairs of the nation at the mercy of the King and Archbishop. But the reviving Church-discipline must also have been a motive to them to absent themselves from the country. Abbot would always hear a layman of substance in preference to a clergyman, but it was not so now. They must be careful and attentive in their duties as members of the Church, take out their licenses and dispen-

* Rushworth, ii., 289. † *Ibid.*, 295.
‡ *Ibid.*, 299.

sations humbly,* or they would get themselves into trouble. "Laud," says Lord Clarendon, "intended the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors as well as to the punishment of meaner offenders; and thereupon called for and cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men's, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality in the Court and country were every day cited into the High Commission Court." † Chap. XIV. 1635.

Many clergymen emigrate to New England.

And if the country gentlemen were uneasy under the new ecclesiastical pressure, much more so were those of the clergy, who made Calvinistic teaching a point of conscience, and looked upon any approach to ritual decorum as savouring of Popery. Every year some clergymen of consideration were escaping from the strong hand of the archbishop in England to the freedom and security of the new American plantations. Among these one deserves

* "Memorandum that Sir John Rivers and his lady, bringing certificate from Paul Dane, physician, of their indispositon of body, and so of hurt that might come to them by eating of fish in time of Lent, had license given them to eat flesh by me, Henry Hammond." Quoted from the Penshurst Register.—*Life of Hammond* (Oxf. ed., 1847), p. 21.

† Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 38, Oxf. ed., 1843. "They pray us," says Milton, "that it would please us to let them still hate us and worry us, with their bandogs and pursuivants, and with whipping, fleecing, and flaying of us in their diabolical courts; to tear the flesh from our bones, and into our wide wounds, instead of balm, to pour in oil of tartar, vitriol, and mercury. Oh, the relenting bowels of the fathers!"—*Of Reformation*, book ii.

Chap. XIV. 1635. especial notice, as having been perhaps the first member of our Reformed Church who devoted himself to the great field of missionary labour among the heathen. This was John Elliot, commonly called the Apostle of the Indians. Prevented by scruples from conforming to the requirements of the Church in England, he retired to America, and "spent," says Neal, "a long and useful life in converting the natives, whose language he learned, and with indefatigable pains translated the Bible into it."* Mr. John Cotton, Vicar of Boston and Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, was a man in high repute for learning and piety, and much admired as a preacher. He was, however, unable to accept Laud's views as to ceremonial; and being cited before the High Commission for administering the Lord's Supper without requiring the communicants to kneel, he escaped into New England.† Here he became the pastor of a new Boston, destined hereafter to eclipse its parent and namesake; and our own days have witnessed a graceful tribute of gratitude and respect to his memory, in the restoration, by the contributions of Americans, of part of the noble fabric where once he ministered.‡ Mr. John Davenport, a London clergyman; Mr. Hooker, another Fellow of Emanuel and a Lec-

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 189.

† *Ibid.*, 217.

‡ In 1857, a chapel of the great Church of Boston, in Lincolnshire, was opened after restoration, by a collection made in America—the American Ambassador and the Bishop of Kentucky being present at the ceremony. A brass tablet records their gratitude to the memory of Cotton.

turer at Chelmsford; Mr. Chancy,* Vicar of Ware, and many others, quitted England, rather than conform; while at Oxford, Mr. Crooke, of Brasenose College, and Mr. Hobbes, of Trinity, having reflected upon the Arminians in their sermons, were obliged to make a public recantation. With a policy, which at best was but short-sighted, Laud thought to strengthen the cause of the Church in the country by obtaining for its leading men a greater share in the administration of civil power. At his recommendation, Juxon, Bishop of London, was appointed to the high office of Lord Treasurer.† In noticing the appointment in his *Diary*, Laud thus comments upon it: "No churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more."

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Juxon made Lord Treasurer.

* Mr. Chancy first recanted and apologised, but afterwards, being troubled in conscience, he escaped to New England.

† March 6, 1636. Clarendon thus comments on the appointment: "This inflamed more men that were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the archbishop (who was the known architect of this new fabric), but most unjustly indisposed many towards the Church itself; which they looked upon as the gulf ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view of that robe who were ambitious enough to expect the rest."—*Rebellion*, p. 40, Oxf. ed., 1843.

"Juxon," says M. Guizot, "was a laborious, moderate-minded man, who put an end to numberless disorders, which had alike been injurious to the crown and to the citizens."—*English Revolution*, p. 41. M. Guizot also takes a very favourable view of Laud's *civil* administration. Fuller says of Juxon, "So discreet

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Canons for Scotch Church.

During this year the design for introducing the liturgy into Scotland was proceeding, but in such a manner, that we can hardly believe but that those who appeared to favour the project, were doing all in their power to defeat it. After the King's visit to Scotland, the Scotch bishops were directed to prepare a body of Canons. These were quickly finished, and having been submitted to the King, and approved of by Laud, Juxon, and Wren, were confirmed under the Great Seal, and published by an instrument which declares that "his Majesty, by his prerogative royal, and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, ratifies and confirms the said canons, orders, and constitutions, and all and everything in them contained, and strictly commands all archbishops, bishops, and others, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to see them punctually observed."* At these canons thus published, the whole clergy of Scotland may be said to have been filled with indignation. Those who did not object so much to the matter of the canons were excessively annoyed at the manner of publishing. Without any notice or warning, without any attempt to ascertain the sense of the Church, without the slightest deference to the views and wishes of those who were principally interested, comes forth, on the sole authority of the King, a large and minute body of laws, professing to bind the whole clergy of

was his carriage in that place, it procured a general love unto him, and politic malice despairing to bite, resolved not to bark against him."—Fuller's *Church Hist.*, xi., ii., 49. See Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 395.

* Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 95.

Scotland. What devotion or loyalty could endure so flagrantly tyrannical a proceeding as this? And when the canons came to be looked into, they did not tend to allay the irritation. The first, twelfth, and thirteenth were found to ascribe to the King a most absolute authority over the Church, to make or unmake laws at his sole will and pleasure.* The second, fourth, fifth, and fifteenth ridiculously required, under the pain of excommunication, an entire approval of the Book of Common Prayer, and its punctual use, when the Prayer Book had not yet been published, nor seen by any one in the country. The tenth canon on divorce was said to confound the innocent with the guilty, and the whole body of them was extremely offensive, as giving the bishops an inordinate power, aad (as it was said) reviving some of the worst abuses of Popery.† Chap. XIV. 1635.

The indefatigable activity of Archbishop Laud is now seen at its fullest and most intense stretch. Reducing Ireland and Scotland to conformity, superintending bodies of canons for both Churches, Statutes for Cathedrals.

* "These measures were extremely shocking in Scotland. In this kingdom the Presbyters had formerly disowned the King's supremacy, and therefore to have points of belief prescribed, and rules of religious practice set them by the prerogative, was looked on as intolerable vassalage."—Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 99.

"It was a fatal inadvertency," says Clarendon, "that neither before nor after these canons were sent to the King, they were never seen by the assembly or any convocation of the clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the observation of them."—*Rebellion*, p. 42.

† Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, viii., 99. Clarendon, *Rebellion*, p. 43.—Ordinations restricted to the *quatuor tempora;* confession to be made to a Presbyter, and not revealed; a communion-table with "decent ornaments" were especially pointed out as flagrantly Popish abuses.

Chap. XIV. 1635. he still has time and strength to devote to the furnishing laws to half the cathedrals of England, and providing a large body of amended statutes for the University of Oxford. The English cathedrals were either originally founded as chapters of secular priests, or else united to a regular monastery, and so bound by the special rule of the particular order of the house.* When the regulars were suppressed, the law which had bound the cathedral which survived the monastery, ceased with them, and thus many of the chapters were without statutes. In most cases, a draught of a body of statutes had been made, but not finished or legally confirmed, and so, instead of being a guide and a law to the chapter, it was rather a fruitful source of quarrels and disputes. Archbishop Laud designed to procure a revised and ratified code of laws for each of those churches which were without them, and had made considerable progress in this great work before his activity was stopped by his imprisonment. Statutes were at once furnished for Canterbury and Winchester; and Hereford, though a church of the older foundation, requiring an amendment of discipline, Laud caused their statutes to be cast in a new mould, and sent to them under the Great Seal. Not long afterwards, a proviso was

* St. Paul's, Chichester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Lincoln, Litchfield, St. David's, St. Asaph, Llandaff, Bangor, and York, were originally founded in *secular canons*. Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Rochester, Worcester, Norwich, Durham, Carlisle, were connected with abbeys. Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Bristol, and Carlisle, were of Henry VIII.'s foundation, out of the lands of monasteries. These last thirteen required statutes.

appended to the statutes of all the cathedrals, forbidding the chapters to grant leases on lives, and directing them to reduce those already granted on lives to leases for terms of years. A letter was also addressed by the King to the deans of cathedral churches forbidding them (in like manner as the bishops had been before forbidden) to grant leases either for lives or terms after they had been named for promotion.* Chap. XIV. 1635.

Together with regulating the internal economy of chapters and universities, reviving the splendour of worship in cathedrals, and taking care for the introduction of ritualism and decorous arrangement in all the parish churches of the kingdom, the Archbishop also kept a sharp eye on the controversial theology of the day. It appeared to him now a convenient season to strike another blow at the Sabbatarians, and accordingly, under his direction, White, Bishop of Ely, and Peter Heylin, Prebendary of Westminster, undertook to handle the subject of the Sabbath.† The argumentative Treatises on Sabbath.

* Heylin's *Laud*, pp. 291, 292, 319, 320.

† Dr. Hessey thus notices this controversy:—"(Dr. Heylin) threw what he had to say into the form of an elaborate treatise, borrowing most of the learning which it displays from Bishop Prideaux, but not observing that writer's distinction between Apostolic and ecclesiastical. Bishop White exhibits the same confusion in his rather acrimonious writings, and Bishop Cosin took the sounder view of Prideaux; so did, in some respects, Dr. Young in 1639; so did Richard Baxter, who wrote to moderate between the extreme views. There were a multitude of other Sabbatarian writers: Henry Burton, 1636; John Ley, *Sunday a Sabbath*, 1641; H. L'Estrange, *God's Sabbath before and under the Law Vindicated*, &c.; Caudrey and Palmer, 1645, 1652; Dean Owen, 1672. On the Ecclesiastical side, Thomas Broad, Edward Breewood, C. Dow, David Primrose, Dr. Pocklington;

Chap. XIV. 1635. and scholastical part was undertaken by the bishop, the practical and historical by the prebendary. The bishop's book was speedily attacked by Mr. Byfield, of Surrey; to Dr. Heylin's, as he himself says, no answer was attempted. Collier, a devout admirer of Heylin's, considers that in this treatise he went too far, and too much lowered the character of the Christian festival. A happy mean seems to have been struck out by Dr. Paul Micklethwaite, who, preaching at the Temple, enforced upon his hearers that a liberty ought to be conceded to the hard-worked artisan and servant, which those who can keep Sabbath all the week ought not to desire to claim.*

Report of province of Canterbury, Jan., 1636.

If we were to judge from the Archbishop of Canterbury's annual account of his province presented to the King at the beginning of this year, we might almost imagine that the Church was in a state of universal peace and prosperity; that there was scarce any disaffection, inconformity, or difference of opinion prevalent. There are some few spots and blemishes noted, but only enough to bring out into strong relief the general happy and peaceful state of things, and to show how vigilant the bishops are each in their several spheres of labour. A very different notion, however, would be obtained from the pages of the Puritan historian, or from any of the numerous diaries and autobiographies of the time. "The people in all the king-

Bishops Ironside, Jer. Taylor, Nicholson, &c.; and Archbishop Bramhall."—*Bampton Lectures*, p. 289.

* Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 33.

doms," says Sir John Bramston, a stanch Royalist, "were seditious, disaffected, apt for rebellion, the Puritan party factious."* Mr. John Rous, a Norfolk clergyman, notes in his diary: "Mr. Gary, of Beckham, preached at Methwold, where I heard him. In reading prayers he stayed for Mr. Pecke and others to mutter each other verse of the Psalms,† and mouthed it Je—sus with a low congie, and in his sermon, among those whom he made liable to God's fearful judgments, he named adulterers, oppressors, atheists, those that bowed not at the name of Jesus, &c., but '*o tempora, qui pastores.*'"‡ This is the reflection of a quiet, well-disposed man. Sir Simonds D'Ewes writes: "For mine own part, I have ever maintained obedience to the magistrate in all lawful things. But for men to call themselves Protestants like Bishop Laud, Bishop Wren, and their wicked adherents, and to project and plot the ruin of the Gospel this my soul abhors as the highest step of wickedness and prevarication against God and his honour."§ Bishop Hacket writes thus of this time: "Can you be insensible of this impendent ruin? Are you so intent upon your altars that you know not how the nation bears a grudge at you? You do not smell the vultures, but while you are chopping

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Liable to convey false impressions.

* *Autobiography*, published by C. S., p. 66.

† It would seem from this that the practice of reading the Psalms in alternate verses was uncommon then. "The Psalms, it appears," says Mr. Lathbury, "were classed with the lessons, and were read only by the minister, the people remaining seated." —*Hist. Prayer Book*, p. 150.

‡ *Diary of Rev. John Rous*, C. S., p. 69.

§ *Autobiography*, ii., 113.

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and changing, the vultures smell after you, to prey upon the carcass of your patrimony."* We can easily conceive that the bishops might wish to give as favourable a report as possible of their several cures to their energetic chief, and he to the King, who took such a deep interest in Church matters; but upon no ground short of a studied suppression of the truth, are we able to explain the Archbishop's report for January, 1636.† In his own diocese, indeed, the Archbishop acknowledges there are "yet very many refractory persons to the government of the Church of England." Seven clergymen are noted as having been censured in the diocese of London,‡ of whom all but two submitted themselves, and promised better behaviour. In the great diocese of Lincoln, there was said to be only "one unconformable man." In the diocese of Bath and Wells, everything is represented as in

* *Life of Williams*, ii., 103.

† Clarendon's account of the Archbishop gives the best explanation. "His greatest want was that of a true friend, who would seasonably have told him of his infirmities, and what people spake of him. It is the misfortune of persons of that condition, that they receive for the most part their advertisements from clergymen, who understand the least and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read." —Life, Works, p. 932, Oxf. ed., 1843.

‡ "To whom his Grace might have added, Dr. Sibbes, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Gouge, Mr. White, and about twenty more, some of whom fled into Holland, and others retired into New England."—Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 225. There also retired to New England about this time, Mr. Peter Bulkley, B.D., Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, from Bedfordshire, and Mr. Richard Mather, Minister of Toxteth, near Liverpool, for above fifteen years, who is said never to have worn the surplice during that whole time.—Neal, u. s.

perfect order, and no presentment since the last report. Oxford, Salisbury, Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, are returned as free from any inconformity or insubordination. Two preachers had been proceeded against in the diocese of Llandaff. Winchester was represented as "all peace and order." Peterborough, Rochester, and Exeter, as obedient in all things. The Bishop of St. David's reported that he had suspended several for inconformity, and complains "that there are few ministers in those poor and remote places that are able to teach and instruct the people."* If the King, indeed, took his notions as to the state of the religious opinion of the country from these reports, he must have been wofully misled, and entirely ignorant of the real state of things. Chap. XIV. 1636.

Let it be remembered that this return comes in the very middle of the heats and contentions as to moving the holy table and railing it in, causing all ministers to bow at the name of Jesus, and to uphold the lawfulness of Sunday sports. That there was nothing which more deeply moved the Puritanical mind than the being obliged to come up to the communion rail† to receive the elements in a kneel-

* Appendix to Laud's *History of his Troubles.*

† Laud did not always enforce the actual coming to the rails, as may be seen by his answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Wellyn, in Hertfordshire, who had asked to be excused this, professing themselves ready to kneel in the chancel. "I desire Mr. Archdeacon Holdsworth to order Mr. Wiltshyre, parson of Wellyn, within his Archdeaconry, to administer the communion duly and orderly to these petitioners, and all other of his parish (they coming and presenting themselves as they ought) to receive it kneeling, though it be in any part of the

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ing posture, we have abundant testimony. In a scurrilous tract against certain clergymen who had been deprived of their benefices by Parliament, the insisting on this is enumerated again and again as a crime equal, in the estimation of the writer, to the sins of drunkenness, adultery, swearing, &c., which are also freely imputed.* "These new orders," writes another Puritanical firebrand, "do open the mouths of many against the bishops to call them antichrists, because none but an adversary to Christ will take upon him to set up altars," &c.† Yet we find scarce any trace of this disaffection which must have been apparent to all men, in the Archbishop's report. The diocese of Norwich is, indeed, an exception, which is the only one that is allowed to be "much out of order," but a confident hope is expressed that "my lord that now is" will soon reduce it. Bishop Corbet had died about the middle of 1635. He was a *bon vivant* and an Anacreontic poet,‡ and had either been unable or

chancel, leaving only such to come to the rails and receive as are willing so to do."—Laud's Works, vi., 478, note.

* White's *First Century of Scandalous Priests.*

† Petition of a poor minister (Lewis Hughes).

‡ Bishop Corbet is well known as a poet of considerable skill. His verses are facetious and Anacreontic. He wrote the Oxford Ballad, satirizing a visit of King James to Cambridge, of which we subjoin a specimen :—

"Our plays were certainly much worse,
For they had a brave hobby-horse,
Which did present unto his grace,
A wondrous witty, ambling pace;
But we were chiefly spoil'd in that,
Which was six hours of God knows what."

This is an allusion to the famous play of *Ignoramus*, mentioned above. Again, the Doctor has a hard hit at Emanuel College, the well-known head-quarters of the Puritans :—

unwilling to do much in that ever-turbulent diocese. He was succeeded by a man of a different stamp, Wren, Bishop of Hereford, a divine of whom Laud was said to be jealous, as almost rivalling himself in the favour of the King. He had been chaplain to Charles when Prince of Wales, had been with him in Spain, had frequently preached before him since his accession, and been kept in constant nearness to his person, by the offices of clerk of the closet and dean of the chapel, which he had filled in succession. Consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1634, he was scarcely warm in the place before he was translated to Norwich, and prepared to carry out the ecclesiastical discipline with a strong hand. "He was a man of a sour, severe nature," says Lord Clarendon,* and he soon

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Bishop Wren at Norwich.

"Much like the chapel ominous,
In the college called 'God with us,'
Which surely doth stand much awry,
Just north and south—yea, verily."

The satirist did not, however, escape without being assailed with his own weapons. The following clever lines were written upon him before he became bishop:—

"A reverend dean,
With his band starcht clean,
Preach'd lately before the King;
A ring was there spied,
To his band-strings tied,
Was not it a pretty thing?
The ring, without doubt,
Was the thing put him out,
That he forgot what was next;
And all that were there
Will say, I dare swear,
He handled it more than his text."

Tanner MSS. (Bodleian), 465, 81. Printed also in Mr. Rous's *Diary*, C. S.

* *Rebellion*, p. 42. Hallam disposes of him with sufficient

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began to make it felt, so that his vigorous measures became quickly, with the ordinary Puritanical exaggeration, the greatest persecution on record. Yes, not to mince matters, Mr. Burton declared, "That in all Queen Mary's time, there was not so great a havoc made (in so short a time) of the faithful ministers of God, in any part of, yea, in the whole land."* That there was, however, some ground for this exaggerated statement, we learn from the sober testimony of Mr. John Rous, himself a minister in the diocese. "This year," (1636) says he, "many were troubled and suspended about the ceremonies inquired of in the articles of Bishop Wren, in his diocese of Norwich."† On the part of the Bishop it was asserted that out of the 1,500 clergy of his diocese, there were not above thirty involved in ecclesiastical censure; of these, sixteen were suspended, one deprived, eight excommunicated, and four inhibited from preaching, of whom one had been a draper, another a weaver, and a third a tailor. Besides these, there were a few suspended for a term, and many questioned and admonished, who preferred to submit rather than undergo punishment.‡ The accusations which

contempt: "One Wren, the worst on the bench."—*Cons. Hist.*, chap. viii.

* Burton quoted by Heylin, *Life of Laud*, 309. Sir Thomas Widdrington was somewhat more moderate in his accusation: "During the time he was Bishop of Norwich, which was two years and a half, he caused fifty godly ministers to be excommunicated, suspended, or deprived."—Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 14.

† Rous's *Diary* (C. S.), p. 80. These articles contained no less than 897 questions for the churchwardens to answer!—*Parentalia*, p. 12.

‡ Among the *Tanner MSS.* in the Bodleian, is a whole folio

they made against the Bishop were, however, strengthened and supported by a facetious hit which was aimed at him by his neighbour and brother at Buckden. In his book called *The Holy Table*, written this year in answer to Heylin's *Coal from the Altar*, Bishop Williams describes him as "a wren mounted on the wings of an eagle," and accused him of sending out letters of persecution.* Chap. XIV. 1636.

Another loophole by which Puritan fervour had found means to creep out was now discovered and sedulously closed up by the disciplinarian bishops. The lecturers and "godly ministers" compounded for being obliged to read the liturgy whenever a sermon was preached, by using a long *ex tempore* prayer before sermon; and in many places the congregations forbore to enter the church till the liturgy was ended, and these more favoured devotions about to begin. The abuse was one of long standing. Archbishop Abbot had published a letter to the Bishops in 1619, with a view to remedy it; but this, like all other acts of his, appears to have taken no effect. Preachers were now inhibited from using any other form of prayer before sermon but that prescribed in the 55th canon. This new blow produced a deep sensation in many places. It seemed to the Puritan the one thing wanting to complete the sad edifice of anti- Prayer before sermon.

volume, relating to this visitation, which was conducted principally by Dr. Corbet, the chancellor of the diocese. The curious and interesting facts contained in these MSS. were not, apparently, known to the author of the *Parentalia*.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 310. For more on the subject of this visitation, see below under 1637.

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Christian oppression.* Lecturers were watched and suppressed. Afternoon sermons had been cut off, and the abilities of the minister confined to the words of the Church catechism. In his sermons he was not allowed to handle any deep points of controversy, or to declare the "whole counsel of God;" and now "the Spirit was quenched" by the gift of prayer being interfered with, and "gifted ministers" and "dumb dogs" reduced to the same dead level of a prescribed form.

Bishop Pierce at Bath and Wells.

None of all the prelates was so cried out against in this matter of interference with preaching, as Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells. It was his boast that he had not left one lecturer in his diocese of any sort whatever, and that in every church in Somersetshire, some portion or other of the Church

* "Endeavouring to suppress the power and efficacy of prayer, he, in the same year enjoined that no minister should pray before sermon, but only move the people to pray in the words of the 55th canon, which is not warranted by law."—Articles of Impeachment against Bishop Wren. Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 13. We have still upon record the pathetic entreaties of Mr. John Scott, a minister of Ipswich, to be allowed to indulge in this much-coveted license of *conceived* prayer before sermon. Mr. Scott professes himself ready to conform in most things. He tells the Bishop, "your lordship's sweet hand upon me hath so mollified my mind, yea, melted my heart, that I have observed sundry of your lordship's directions." Yet he beseeches that "your lordship would be pleased to grant me an indulgence, either before or after the canon, which I will use verbatim *(mutatis mutandis)* to express this short vote enclosed for a blessing from Almighty God upon his sacred ordinance. And herein I beseech you, my lord, pity the poor orator who unfeignedly desires to please Almighty God, and to submit to your lordship's authority, but trembleth to take God's word into his mouth without humbly craving his leave and blessing."—*Tanner MSS.* (Bodleian), 68, 297.

Catechism formed the subject of the afternoon instruction.* Such a boast was easy to make, but impossible to substantiate. It is evident that the mere enforcing the use of the text of the Church Catechism could not tie the minister from launching forth into forbidden topics by way of illustration and explanation, and the substance of the most unorthodox lectures might easily be communicated and enforced under the disguise of a dutiful obedience to his Majesty's instructions. To give commission to teach, and then to attempt to gag the teacher; to suppose that men capable of reading, reasoning, and reflecting, could be confined to a set of opinions like a schoolboy to his grammar; to put the Bible into the hands of the minister, and then to tell him he must only treat it in such a way; to require him to do what he considered was equivalent to "handling the Word of God deceitfully," was one of the suicidal counsels of an overstretched and impossible conformity. It did not necessarily involve any tyranny over opinion, to enforce the restoration and rearrangement of the interior of the church;† to require the table to be set against the east wall, and to direct the erection of a rail.

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 312. A device resorted to by the Puritanical party was to cause the church bells to be rung differently before a service in which there was to be a sermon, and when there was no sermon. This was discovered and forbidden by the bishops.—*Vide* Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 13, 9th Article of Impeachment.

† It was considered by the Puritans a means to "advance blind superstition," to cause the pews in the churches to be so altered, that all the people should kneel with their faces towards the east. —Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 13.

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We see, in our own day, persons of every shade of religious belief meet on the common ground of the fitness of decency and splendour in the House of God. But to step beyond the material to the spiritual, to invade the domain of conscience, and not content with exacting subscription to recognised formularies, to go farther and insist on a certain method of treatment of the doctrines contained in them—this was pushing ecclesiastical tyranny to an inordinate excess, and was, as might be expected, repaid by a corresponding tyranny, when the opinions now proscribed got the upper hand. The Archbishop no doubt believed it possible to drill several thousands of ministers into the exact phraseology of his own opinions, but this is only one of the many proofs of that intellectual imbecillity which, combining with an ardent zeal, an untiring activity, and an unrivalled power of business, constituted a character most exactly adapted to obtain for the Church apparent triumphs, but a real and inevitable overthrow. At present, like a combatant warming to the fray, he went on from one success to another, figuring to himself nothing less than a patriarchal and almost pontifical power, and looking forward to the time, when in alliance with, rather than in subjection to, the King, he should order and direct from Lambeth the whole ecclesiastical concerns of the three kingdoms. We may easily read his thoughts and views by the way in which we see him intent upon disembarrassing his metropolitan authority from the necessity of royal sanction, and his eager endeavour to prove its inherent greatness and vigour.

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Immediately on his appointment to the primacy, he had begun to exercise the Metropolitan authority which had long lain dormant, some of the dioceses in his province not having been visited by the metropolitan for over two hundred years; and this power which had been conceived to be limited to *semel in vitâ*, he expressly claimed for "as often as he liked."* Not content, however, with this admitted authority, he next proceeded to make an entirely new assertion of his archiepiscopal power. He claimed to visit both the Universities by his rights as metropolitan, though these august corporations had ever been held to be exempt from all but royal interference. It was useless to urge in reply, that his grace might visit them both without cavil, if only he would condescend to ask the royal commands; or to urge, that being already Chancellor of Oxford, for that University, at any rate, he required no new power. This was beside the mark. The Earl of Holland, Chancellor of Cambridge, in vain suggested, "If you will visit, you may do it by commission, the King can grant it. The Bishop replied, No; I desire to *have my own power*."† The King, docile in all things to his imperious minister, consented that it should be so, and a formal order of King in Council was made, declaring that the Archbishop, as metropolitan, had power to visit both the Universities.‡

Laud's Metropolitan claims.

Encouraged by the erection of this *imperium in imperio*, the bishops generally now began to take a higher stand, and to drop their semi-Erastian notions

Bishops' courts held in their own names.

* Rushworth, ii., 326. † *Ibid*, ii., 327. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

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of leaning on the King's prerogative. The Court of High Commission declined in their estimation in comparison with their own consistories, which were held in their own names, and by their own power, ecclesiastical processes being issued out of them, and citations, examinations, suspensions and other censures proceeding under the seal of the bishop of the diocese. In this stretch of power they were encouraged by the King, a truly devout son of the Church, and fortified by the opinion of the judges,* and thus the Church seemed to be set free from all shackles of legal restraint, and to be invested with the almost unlimited power of wielding at its will the tremendous weapon of the undefined subtleties of the Canon Law.† The bishops now began to frame new sets of articles of inquiry in their own names, each as he thought best, and to administer an oath to the churchwardens to make the presentments and returns according to the inquiries.

Thus, with the highest offices of the state in the hands of its bishops; with a monarch devoted to its interests, and an absolute and uncontrolled authority over men's consciences, opinions, and private lives entrusted to its chief ministers; with the terrors of

* Rushworth, ii., 451.

† "I should not deem it improbable," says Hallam, "that Laud had formed, or rather adopted from the canonists, a plan not only of rendering the spiritual jurisdiction independent, but of extending it to all civil causes, except perhaps in questions of freehold. He asserts episcopacy to be of *divine* right, a doctrine not easily reconcileable with the Crown's supremacy over *all* causes. He would, I have no doubt, have put an end to this badge of subordination to the Crown."—*Const. Hist.*, i., 458, and note.

the Star-Chamber and High Commission Court at its beck; with no Parliament to criticize and question, no free press to review and discuss the grounds of its claims; the Church might seem to an observer who looked no deeper than the surface, to have obtained a resistless and complete power over the minds of the English people.

CHAPTER XV.

Chap. XV. 1637.

The Court of Star-Chamber—Trials of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick—Their sentence—Laud's speech—Laud not vindictive—Trial of Bishop Williams—His second trial—Publication of the Scotch Liturgy—Tumults at Edinburgh—The league and Covenant—Laud's part in this business—Laud not justly charged with favouring Popery—State of Province of Canterbury, Jan., 1637—Bishop Wren at Ipswich—Sir S. D'Ewes's account of his visitation—Laud's system best exemplified at Norwich—Laud's manifold employments—The press restrained—Punishment of Lilburne—Popery on the increase—Laud's measures to meet it—Chillingworth's treatise—State of Province, Jan., 1638—John Hales of Eton, and Laud—Hales on schism—The King's Commissioner sent to Edinburgh—Concessions to the Scotch—Assembly at Glasgow—Montagu at Norwich—Patriots and Puritans—War with Scotland—Benevolence from the clergy—Mr. Harrison's case—Mr. Powell's case—State of Province, Jan., 1639—Mr. Goodwin of St. Stephen's—Mr. Workman of Gloucester—Nonconforming clergy fly or yield to Laud's strict discipline—Atrocities in New England—Bishop Morton—Davenant—Hall: His treatise on episcopacy—Laud hated by the laity—First campaign against the Scotch—Preparations for a Parliament.

Court of Star-Chamber.

THE *Concilium regis ordinarium*, or Court of Star-Chamber—so called from the ornaments of the room in which it was usually held—was an institution of great antiquity. It exercised civil jurisdiction in certain cases, as in disputes between alien merchants and

Englishmen, questions of prizes, and some testamentary matters, but its principal jurisdiction was criminal. It took cognisance of the offences of forgery, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy. It censured also breach of royal proclamations, and was specially intended to reach offenders whose greatness and influence might make juries afraid to convict them. Its punishments were fines, confiscation, imprisonment, whipping, branding, and mutilating—anything short of the sentence of death.* Under the system of government adopted by Charles I. and his advisers, the Court of Star-Chamber assumes a great prominence and importance. Laws were made at the Council-board by the King and his ministers, and enforced by the same persons in another room as the judges of the Star-Chamber; while a portion of the same council might proceed to the Court of High Commission, and constitute themselves the judicial governors of the Church. At all times the jurisdiction of the Star-Chamber must have been an object of deep suspicion to all true-hearted Englishmen. The judges who sat in it were for the most part politically incapacitated from giving an impartial decision. Their private interests were usually mixed up in the case. The fines of the convicted party went to enrich the coffers of their master, and the King himself might be present to watch who were in favour of his prerogative, or against him.

This year, however, the ill-reputation of this hated Court reached its climax, and the odium

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, c. viii.

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in which it was held, encompassed all who were concerned in its sentences, especially the bishops of the church. It animadverted with especial vehemence on libels. Dr. Leighton, for his unhappy book of *Zion's Plea against Prelates*, had been miserably mutilated, fined, and imprisoned; and William Prynne, a barrister of the Temple, had, in 1633, experienced its terrible castigation for his book called *Histriomastix*. This was a long and tedious tirade against stage-plays, music and dancing, the Puritanical follies of which would have speedily sunk into obscurity, had not the prying eyes of Laud or Heylin discovered, in an evil hour, some libellous extravagances amidst its mass of rubbish. These Heylin was appointed to cull out that they might furnish a foundation for a prosecution. He was an acute, and perhaps not over scrupulous critic,* and he made it appear that Prynne had bitterly assailed the services of the Church, and applied infamous epithets to the Queen. For this offence he was sentenced to the pillory, to the loss of his ears, to be branded, fined £5,000, and imprisoned for life. The horrible iniquity of this sentence must have moved deeply all men capable of feeling and reflection, but it did not appal nor quell the sturdy spirit of the Puritan lawyer. In his prison he continued to write libels more pointed and bitter than his first. Against Heylin's book of *A Coal from the Altar*, he writes a tract called *The Quench-coal*, also another book called *The Unbishopping of Timothy and Titus*, and a third called

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 449.

News from Ipswich, being a somewhat highly-coloured account of Bishop Wren's doings in the diocese of Norwich. That the lawyer might not be singular in his libelling, he had companions in physic and divinity. Dr. Bastwick, a physician, indited a Latin treatise called *Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium*, and then in English, *A Litany*, full of scurrilous attacks upon the dignitaries of the Church.* In the church of St. Matthew's, Friday-street, Henry Burton preached two sermons which he afterwards printed, on the text, "My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them who are given to change." In these discourses he bitterly attacks Laud and his bishops as innovators, and specially charges the Archbishop with making alterations in the Liturgy,† as follows:—(1). In the epistle for the Sunday before Easter, "*At* the name of Jesus," is substituted for, "In the name of Jesus." (2). Two changes in the service for the fifth of November. (3). The prayer for the navy is left out of the last book for the Fast. Chap. XV. 1637.

On these slight grounds was built a mighty edifice of charges and vituperation. The three libellers were summoned into the Star-Chamber, and required to put in an answer to the charges exhibited against them. Their answers were merely a repetition and exaggeration of their libels. No counsel would sign them—a formality without which they could not be received; whereupon Bastwick, throwing his answer into the Court, exclaimed, "My Trials of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick.

* Autobiography of Sir J. Bramston, C. S., p. 69.
† Rushworth, ii., 380.

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Their sentence.

lords, there is my answer; if you will accept it you may, if not, I will send it through the world in Roman buff."* The Court decided that no answers having been put in, the crimes were to be taken *pro confesso*, and proceeded to sentence accordingly. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, were fined £5,000 each to the King; to stand in the pillory at Westminster, to lose their ears, to have their books burnt before their face, and to be imprisoned in remote parts for their lives.† Prynne was also to be branded on the cheek with the letters S. L., for Seditious (or Schismatical) Libeller. The fearful sentence was duly carried out in the case of each, and borne with astonishing fortitude. Prynne having lost his ears partially at his former punishment, had now the stumps "rather sawn off than cut," yet so stoically did he bear the pain, that the people called him William the Conqueror. Burton spoke religiously to the crowd who pressed around, and declared that "he had as much comfort as his heart could hold." Bastwick avowed that amidst the horrors of the pillory, he could still find "sweetness in Christ."‡ We are not to conclude from this, that these men were justified in their libels, or deserve to be dignified with the name of martyrs. The cause of Christianity cannot be fought with such weapons as they used. But the consciousness of being the victims of an inordinate and cruel sentence, and the

* Autobiography of Sir J. Bramston, p. 70; Sir J. B. was present at the trial.

† Rushworth, ii., 382.

‡ Guizot, *Hist. English Revolution*, p. 64. (Trans.)

persuasion that they had with them, the deep and hearty sympathy of the spectators nerved and braced them to an extraordinary endurance. Chap. XV. 1637.

The Archbishop took the occasion of this trial to make a long and elaborate speech in defence of all his ecclesiastical administration, and in particular to explain the charges brought against him by Mr. Burton, as to alterations in the Liturgy. This speech was thought so convincing an apology, that the King directed it should be printed and published. Whether it was likely to convince the Puritans, may, however, be doubted.* Certainly some of the arguments contained in it are sufficiently puerile to suit them. For instance, bowing towards the altar on first entering the church is defended, as being agreeable to the practice of Moses, David, and Hezekiah, and as being implied by the use of the Psalm, "O come let us worship and fall down."† This strange confusion between the Jewish and Christian economies was rather worthy of Praise-God Barebones, or Zeal-in-the-Lord Win-the-fight, than of the first Churchman of England. Throughout the speech also, may be observed a constant recurrence to that topic of defence which was so common in the mouth of the Archbishop, and which one of his cleverest apologists has so fittingly censured.‡ Everything is declared to have been done by the orders and Laud's speech.

* "His speech made in the Star-Chamber at the censure of some godly men being since printed, makes me even tremble when I read it."—Sir S. D'Ewes's *Autobiography*, ii., 101.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 338.

‡ Mr. Le Bas in his *Life of Laud*.

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consent of the King. The King is made responsible for every change. This surely was not fair towards the indulgent master, who had evidently taken all his church measures from the Archbishop's advice. Neither was there good policy in it, for as no one would be induced to excuse the Archbishop from this frail subterfuge, many might be induced to think more harshly of the King from having him thus put forward. Charles had been the docile instrument of Laud in all things. When he ventured to differ from him, or to act without him, the Archbishop was not slow to signify his displeasure.* It is hardly fair, therefore, to make the King bear the burden of his unpopular "innovations." However, if he had pleaded with the eloquence of Demosthenes, and the art of Cicero, the bleeding ears of the three "libellers" would have pleaded more strongly, and though it is probable that he had no more to do with the passing of the sentence than any other member of the Court, yet from that hour many a true-hearted Englishman, neither Puritan nor traitor, secretly vowed his fall.†

Impolicy is a sin in those on whom the fate of nations hangs, and folly is criminal when highly

* "I confess I was a little troubled, that after so many years' faithful service, in a business concerning the Church so nearly, his Majesty should speak with the Lord Keeper both without me, and before he would move it to me. And somewhat I said thereupon which pleased not."—Laud's *History of his Troubles*, p. 79.

† "Grimston told me the Marquis (Hamilton) would scape well enough, but as for little Laud, said he, I will venture a limb at him."—*Autobiography of Sir J. Bramston*, p. 76.

placed. It is enough to convict the archbishop of a rash inconsiderateness, and an obstinate blindness to consequences, without lending ourselves to the scurrilous abuse and calumnious falsehoods which have been vented upon him. Mr. Hallam has given the authority of his great name to some very bitter reflections upon him, and in particular has charged him with being vindictive, harsh, and cruel. This charge is well met by the words of Sir E. Dering, than whom no man was more competent to speak with knowledge, or less likely to speak with favour. "It is true the roughness of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him, yet would he often (of himself) find ways and means to sweeten many of them again when they least looked for it."* "Sharpness of language and expression," says Lord Clarendon, "were so natural to him, that he could not debate anything without some commotion, when the argument was of no moment; yet, upon a short recollection, he was always sorry for it, and would most readily and heartily make acknowledgment."† A certain quickness and irascibility of temper seems the worst that can be imputed to him in this kind. There is no trace of deliberate vindictiveness in his diaries, letters,‡ and apologies.

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Laud not vindictive.

* Preface to *Speeches in Matters of Religion*, p. 5.

† Clarendon's *History of Rebellion*, p. 40, Oxford ed., 1843.

‡ Mr. Hallam asserts the contrary, but conspicuously fails in his proof. The only passage which he brings in support being an extract from one of Laud's letters to Strafford, in which he complains that Prynne and his fellows were allowed to talk when in the pillory.

Chap. XV. 1637. It has been generally thought that his persecution of Bishop Williams is an instance to the contrary of this, and that he pursued him with a rancorous and vindictive spirit, altogether unworthy of a Christian bishop.* But it is now known that this charge is the very opposite to the truth. The King, indeed, never ceased to dislike Williams, and to keep the charge against him hanging over his head; but the Lambeth letters exhibit Laud in the character of a mediator, appealed to by Williams, to help him with the King, and doing so again and again at the risk of somewhat sharp rebuffs. Williams was a man of exceeding subtlety, skill, and power. After his loss of Court favour, he had thrown himself almost openly into the Puritan interest. He was recognised as the rival of Laud, and the leader of the opposition in the Church against him; and it was evident that the primate's disciplinarian plans could not be fully successful so long as his great rival remained in quiet at Buckden. By having answered Heylin's *Coal from the Altar*, under the thin disguise of the name of *A Lincolnshire Minister*, he had taken up a position of avowed hostility to Laud on the

* "Williams experienced the rancorous and ungrateful malignity of Laud."—Hallam's *Constitutional History*, i., 447. Mr. Hallam takes his Church History too much from Neal, and cannot preserve his usual temper in speaking of Laud and "his creatures," as he calls the bishops. It is a pity he did not take the trouble to refer to the original documents on the subject. (See below.) Mr. Disraeli, who generally takes a fair view, says (following the lead), "The vindictive Laud inflicted ruin upon his antagonist by dragging him before the inquisitorial Star-Chamber."—*Charles I.*, i., 139.

matter of the Holy Table; and in his visitation, which immediately followed Laud's, he had hit on a clever plan for satisfying the letter of the injunction, and at the same time opposing its spirit, by recommending the Tables to be railed round, instead of railed off, still allowing them to stand in the centre of the chancel. When the biographer of Williams complains that he had been kept for many years with an accusation in the Star-Chamber hanging over him, it may be replied on behalf of Laud that he had nothing to do with the charge; that he, as well as Strafford and Lennox, appealed to the King to dismiss it, but that Charles was obdurate. When it is affirmed that the Archbishop, with great passion, magnified the offence for which Williams was at last convicted, it may be answered that the offence, if true, was a very scandalous one, and that Laud solemnly declares that he had been five times down on his knees to the King to plead in Williams's favour.* It was the humour of those unhappy times to place traps and snares for the feet of great men, and the instant they had fallen to spring upon them with a savage malignity. We cannot, however, see any

* Rushworth, ii., 439. Laud also says that on each occasion he sent him the King's answer, but that Williams only "coarsely dealt with him" for his trouble. The letters which passed between Laud and Williams about these matters are preserved at Lambeth in MS., and have been lately printed in the new edition of Laud's works. They disprove the stereotyped charges against Laud, repeated by Mr. Hallam, and contain many acknowledgments from Williams of the primate's kind offices. The King forbade Laud to interfere in the matter.—See Laud's Works, vi., i., 315, ii., 338, 408, &c.

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special exhibition of this evil temper in the character of Laud.

Some five or six years before this time Bishop Williams had entertained, at his hospitable table at Buckden, Sir John Lamb and his son-in-law, Dr. Sibthorp, who were employed in his diocese in the business of the High Commission. At dinner there was much talk, as usual, of the Puritans; and the Bishop unguardedly said that it was best not to be too hard upon them, for that the King had told him he meant to adopt a milder policy towards them. It seems that Sir John Lamb felt towards the Bishop some private grudge at this time, although he had been befriended by him in earlier years, and, in fact, owed everything to his favour. He made a note of the Bishop's words, and sent them up to Court, where it was attempted, from these harmless expressions, to fasten upon him the crime of revealing the King's secrets. Some explanations with the King followed, and Charles promised that the bishop should hear no more of the matter; yet, either forgetting or breaking his promise, he afterwards sent the business into the Star-Chamber.* It dragged its slow length along during the days of Mr. Attorney-General Noy, who was not willing to molest the bishop; but after his death it began to be more vigorously prosecuted. A proctor of infamous character, named Kilvert, was employed to collect evidence against Williams, and was allowed by Secretary Windebank to take with him an officer of the

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* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 114.

Star-Chamber, in his uniform, to frighten and impress those whom he wished to practise on. The principal witness on the side of Williams was an official of his, called Pregion, who had been at his table at the time when the words complained of were alleged to have been spoken. Kilvert endeavoured to ruin the testimony of this man by bringing charges of immorality against him. Against these plots the bishop counterplotted, when suddenly Kilvert discovered, or pretended to discover, that the bishop had been tampering with witnesses, and offering a bribe to a woman to clear the character of Pregion. Upon this, the original charge against Williams, of revealing the King's secrets, was dropped, and another brought of subornation of perjury; and upon this it was that he was this year tried in the Star-Chamber.* His trial occupied several days: Mr. Gardiner, Recorder of London, acting as his counsel; and Sir John Banks, Attorney-General, pleading against him. In passing sentence, the Archbishop "made a pathetical speech, of nearly an hour long, aggravating the fault of subornation of perjury;"† and the lords were all agreed in fining him £8,000, suspending him from his functions, and imprisoning him in the Tower during his Majesty's pleasure.

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No sooner was Williams in the Tower than his

* Hacket's *Williams*, ii., 114—126. Rushworth, ii., 414—450. "Williams," says Mr. Disraeli, "confessed that from his studies in divinity he had learned the maxim, *Licet uti alterius peccato*."—Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 127.

† Heylin's *Laud*, p. 344.

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His second trial.

effects were seized, and his papers eagerly searched. Among them were found two letters from Mr. Osbaldiston, the Master of Westminster School, in which were the following expressions: "I find for certain, which I report *sub sigillo*, that the great Leviathan and the little Urchin are a great storm this Christmas weather.....The jealousy grows great and sharp between the great Leviathan and the little meddling *hocus-pocus*, and if it increase there is hope your lordship will enjoy the blessing of the King's grace." And in the second: "The sport is grown tragical, and anything would be given for a sound and thorough charge to push at and confound the little Urchin." That the Bishop clearly understood these letters, and the allusions in them, is made evident by a letter of his to a friend: "Mr. Osbaldiston reported to me, by letter, that it was desired that I should contribute my endeavours to be useful to the Lord-Treasurer against the little great man.....But, for my part, I refuse to meddle with any such thing; yet I pray you learn whether it be so or no, lest some have gulled Mr. Osbaldiston in his three last letters." On these letters, Mr. Osbaldiston was charged of having given contemptuous names to the Archbishop and the Lord-Treasurer; and the Bishop with having received and entertained the libels, and spoken of them to several people. The defence attempted, on the part of Osbaldiston, was that by the nicknames used in the letters, not the Archbishop and Lord-Treasurer, but Dr. Spicer and Chief-Justice Richardson were meant. This, says Mr. Hallam, "was

an undoubted perjury." The Bishop pleaded that he had not received the letters, but his own letter produced and read, evidently alluded to them, and several witnesses swore to his having mentioned them. We are compelled, therefore, to believe that Bishop Williams perjured himself, as well as Mr. Osbaldiston.* Heavy fines were inflicted on both, but Mr. Osbaldiston avoided the worst part of his sentence by flight, having been condemned to stand in the pillory at Westminster, and to have his ears tacked to it.† It was a miserable and disgraceful business, but we cannot see that Archbishop Laud is chargeable with any special malignity in the matter. He took no part in the sentence, and *scandalum magnatum* was in those evil days held to be a crime of a heinous character.

Publication of the Scotch liturgy.

Before, however, this sentence was pronounced, events had occurred in Scotland which ought to have taught the King's advisers to proceed with greater caution and circumspection. On his visit to Scotland in the year 1633, the King had seen clearly that the time was not ripe for the introduction of the English liturgy. The most powerful men in the nation were in a state of discontent at the commission of surrenders, and there was a great outcry and disturbance at the sharp practice which it was alleged had been used to carry some of the King's measures through the Parliament. But the project

* Almost all the writers who have studied the character of Bishop Williams, agree that he was not particular as to veracity.

† Rushworth, ii., 803—817.

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was only postponed, not abandoned. It was one on which the King had set his heart, and which would not be likely to be allowed to lie dormant by his friend and counsellor, Archbishop Laud. It was ordered, therefore, that the English liturgy, in all its fulness, should be read daily in the chapel at Holyrood, and the dress and ceremonial of the English Church carefully observed. Ballantine, Bishop of Dunblaine, being not sufficiently hearty in the matter, was removed to Aberdeen, and Dr. Wedderburn put in his place, as Dean of the chapel. Laud had not as yet wavered in his determination that the English liturgy verbatim should be transferred to Scotland, but the Scotch bishops were so urgent in the matter, that they prevailed with the King, and they were allowed to construct a book upon the English model, to be approved of by the King and the English bishops before its publication. It would appear that the King signed a liturgy for Scotland at Hampton Court, Sept. 28, 1634:* but this seems to have been reconsidered for some time in Scotland, and again submitted to the King at the beginning of the year 1636.† Laud, Juxon, and Wren were then directed to

* Rushworth; Kennet's *Complete History of England*, iii., 81. Heylin does not appear to have been aware of this.

† Laud writes to Wedderburn, April, 1636:—"I received from you certain notes to be considered, that all, or at least so many of them as his Majesty should approve, might be made use of in your Liturgy which is now printing. I and Bishop Wren examined them all, and so many of them as his Majesty approved I have written into a Service-book of ours, and sent you the book with his Majesty's hand to it, to warrant all your alterations made therein."—Laud's Works, vi., 456.

examine it. After they had done so, and suggested sundry alterations, the King made the following order (April 15): "Gave the Archbishop of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this book, and to fit a liturgy for the Church of Scotland; and wheresoever they shall differ from another book signed by us at Hampton Court, September 28, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed rather than the former, unless the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and his brethren who are upon the place, shall see apparent reason to the contrary."*

The Scotch bishops did not at once acquiesce in the English alterations, and as they still had the book under their hands, the King sent them in October a paper of instructions to guide them in the completion of their wotk. These instructions were: (1.) "That they should take care that the proclamation for altering the Service-Book should not derogate from the royal prerogative. (2.) That in their calendar they should keep such Catholic saints as were in the English, with such other saints as were most peculiar to that kingdom.† (3.) That in their book of ordination they should keep the words of the English book without any change. (4.) That they should insert among the lessons ordinarily to be read in the service, Wisdom, i., ii., iii., iv., v., vi., Ecclesiasticus, i., ii., v., viii., xxxv., xlix. (5.) That in bishops' houses,

* Kennet's *Complete History of England*, iii., 80.

† "These Scotch saints were so far from making the English Liturgy acceptable, that the English Liturgy rather made the saints odious unto them."—Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, xi., ii., 98.

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colleges, &c., the service should be used twice a day. (6.) That the preface to the book of Common Prayer, signed by his Majesty's hand, and the proclamation for authorizing it, should be printed and inserted in the book of Common Prayer."* Under these instructions the last corrections and amendments of the liturgy were conducted by the Scotch bishops, and it was ratified and confirmed by his Majesty's royal declaration, dated December 20, 1636. The time originally fixed for the first using of the liturgy had been Easter Sunday, but the Earl of Traquair persuaded the King to defer it to July, that some good preparation might be made for it. Whether this advice was given in good faith or treacherously, seems doubtful; but, at any rate, there can be no doubt as to its impolicy.

The discontented party observed the signs of hesitation and timidity, and took heart. The interval allowed them time to mature their plans. It was not difficult to find topics to stir deeply the hearts of the people. They were told that they were about to be subjected to the same intolerable tyranny under which their Puritan brethren in England were groaning, and that they would soon see among themselves confessors like Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. They were assured that it had been deliberately determined to introduce the Romish superstition among them, and that the Archprelate of Canterbury, a devout son of the Pope and of the Devil, had resolved to extinguish for

* Kennet's *Complete History*, iii., 80.

ever the pure light of the Gospel in the land. The Scotch bishops were represented as his obedient satellites, pitiful puppets, who worked while he pulled the strings. To meet the discontented and infuriated temper of the people no precautions whatever were taken by those to whose management this critical business was entrusted. "Everything," says Clarendon, "was left in the same state of unconcernedness as it was before; not so much as the council being better informed of it, as if they had been sure that all men would have submitted to it for conscience sake;"* or, to use the words of Heylin, "as if the work were able to have so much divine assistance as countervailed the want of all helps from man."† Several of the bishops even did not know beforehand of the intention, but only some few, who were "insolent and petulant, of overmuch fervour, and too little discretion."‡ The consequence might easily have been anticipated by any man of ordinary judgment. Exasperated as they had been by the rash and unjustifiable publication of the Book of Canons, the attempt to read the Liturgy by the Dean and Bishop of Edinburgh in the Cathedral church, only filled up the measure of the indignation of the people. No sooner had the dean begun to read than a furious riot commenced. So great was the noise that no voice could be heard distinctly. A shower of stones, and sticks, and cudgels was hurled at the head of the officiating minister. The

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Tumults at Edinburgh.

* *Rebellion*, p. 44. † *Life of Laud*, p. 350.
‡ Clarendon, u. s.

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bishop ascended the pulpit, but was greeted with a storm of execration, and made the mark for all sorts of missiles. The Chancellor called upon the Provost and baillies to quell the tumult, and by their means the most noisy of the rioters were thrust out of the doors of the church. Amidst frequent interruptions from those who remained, the Dean hurried the service to a conclusion. Not a word could be distinctly heard from the noise and yellings of the mob without, the smashing of windows, and the battering of the doors. The bishops, on leaving the church, were followed, hooted, pelted, and molested. The Bishop of Edinburgh lost his episcopal robes in the tumult, and with difficulty escaped with his life. In all the other churches of the city similar scenes were enacted.* The cause of the Episcopal Church in Scotland had scarce a real friend among the laity, and the beginning of opposition was the signal for all to turn their backs upon the unhappy bishops, so that by the time that new orders came from England, "there was scarce a bishop left in Edinburgh, and not a minister who durst read the liturgy in any church."† A sort of revolutionary committee was at once formed, which treated the orders of the King's Council with contempt; and the proclamations issued by the Government were immediately met by counter-declarations of the "Tables" (as they styled themselves), and Alexander Henderson, the most influential of the ministers, and Archibald Warriston, a celebrated advocate, were commis-

League and Covenant.

* Clarendon, u. s.

† *Ib.*

sioned to draw up a solemn league, by which the nation might bind itself to resist Popery, prelacy, and arbitrary power. This league, so well known as the *Covenant*, was eagerly subscribed by men of every rank and position, and before the English government was fully conscious of a real danger, the nation was banded together in hostile opposition against it.

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It is asserted by Archbishop Laud that he had nothing to do with the strange fatuity which regulated the introduction of the Liturgy. On the contrary he declares that he had constantly urged on the Scotch prelates prudence and caution, and strict attention to the law.* Against this it may be argued that the bishops who were employed in the matter were in constant correspondence with Laud, and would hardly have ventured to do anything without his consent, and that the Earl of Traquair especially was a creature of his, having been raised by him from the state of a private laird to be a peer, Lord Chancellor, and Privy-counsellor.

Laud's part in this business.

To this man he had committed the whole busi-

* Archbishop Laud's *History of his Troubles*, p. 98. Compare with this a passage from one of Laud's letters to Strafford. "Indeed, my lord, the business of Scotland, I can be bold to say without vanity, was well laid and that it should so fatally fail in the execution, is a great blow the errors were about the execution, not direction. But the main failure in the direction was that all the lords of the council were not more thoroughly dealt with by the King and I am confident all had gone well enough if Traquair had but done his duty."—Laud's Works, vi., 554-5. And another to Archbishop Spotswood. "Touching the tumult, I can say no more than I have said already; and the casting of any fault on your grace, and the rest of your brethren, as if the thing were done precipitately, I think few men will believe that."—Works, vi., 503.

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ness, and enjoined the archbishops and bishops of Scotland to do all with his advice.* Certainly for everything except the actual details, they had Laud's directions, and the whole matter was the natural and necessary sequence of his policy. He would apply the high hand of the prerogative to overbear and silence opposition, just as he had himself altered the title of the Scotch canons from "Canons agreed upon to be proposed to the several synods of the Church of Scotland," to "Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, ordained to be observed by the clergy."†

Laud not justly charged with trying to introduce Popery.

We may treat with contempt the accusations afterwards urged against Laud, that in the points in which the Scotch liturgy was made to differ from the English, he had deliberately endeavoured to introduce the doctrines of Popery. These accusations principally referred to the communion service. The views of the Archbishop on this subject, were, perhaps, more unintelligible then than they are now, but it would certainly be unfair to charge him with favouring the Papal peculiarities on this, or on any other point of doctrine. It was on the broad charge of plotting to introduce Popery, that Laud was afterwards arraigned; it was to prop up and give colour to this that Prynne exhausted his uncharitable ingenuity, and left no artifice of calumnious malice untried. It was to substantiate this that he inflicted on posterity his

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 349. Heylin holds that Traquair was a traitor, and designedly embroiled matters; Lord Clarendon, on the contrary, considers him honest.

† *Troubles*, p. 101.

folios of scurrilous invective; but, in spite of all, the calm verdict of posterity has acquitted the Archbishop of any such notion or endeavour. But the charge which was so fatal to him afterwards, first came in a definite shape from the Scotch,* and thus the occasion of noticing the beginning of their quarrel with the Archbishop seems a fitting opportunity for glancing back at Laud's general policy towards the Romanists in England. The story that he was twice offered a cardinal's hat is known to every reader of any of his biographies, as also the answer with which he refused it, that "somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."† There can be scarce any doubt that the offer was not a *bonâ fide* one, but only designed to prejudice the Archbishop with the nation, and thus to nourish the ill-feeling and feuds which were already rife in bosom of the Church. Laud was well known as the determined opponent of the Jesuit Fisher. His book of the controversy between them had been printed in 1624,‡ and it was pronounced by a vigorous but honest opponent of the Archbishop's, a book that "had muzzled the Jesuit, and one which shall strike the Papists under the fifth rib when he is dead and gone."§ It was not for the

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* "This scandalous false report that I should negotiate with Rome, was first spread by the Scots, who shamelessly printed it in these words: 'Canterbury did negotiate with Rome about the frame of our service-book and canons.'—(Remonstrance of nobility of the kingdom of Scotland) Laud's *Troubles*, p. 162.

† Laud's *Diary*, Aug. 17, 1633.

‡ *Ib.*, April 16, 1624.

§ Sir E. Dering's Preface to *Speeches on Matters of Religion*,

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interest of the Romanist party in England that Laud should be able to plead a merit so great in the eyes of the Puritan, as that of being a determined foe to the Jesuit and the Pope. Hence, doubtless, the crafty offer of the cardinal's hat. But state policy, in which he was unfortunately entangled, and the connection with which was the real source of all his ills, often brought him into the position of apparently favouring the Romanist party. The King, under the influence of a wife whom he dearly loved, and constrained by his pecuniary embarrassments, adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Romanists. He granted them dispensations from the penal laws, he allowed them to compound the fines for recusancy, he accepted their voluntary contributions towards the necessities of the State. Laud had to share in the odium of these measures, without in the least degree changing his views towards them on the matter of religion. "I have ever wished," says he, "and heartily prayed for the unity of the whole Church of Christ, and the peace and reconciliation of torn and divided Christendom. But that I should practise with Rome as now it stands, is utterly untrue."* It appears that at the urgent request of the Queen, he had ceased to offer opposition to an agent being sent over from Rome, nominally to compose the

p. 5. "I assure myself," says Laud, "none can be so base as to live prelates of the Church of England, and labour to bring in the superstitions of the Church of Rome upon themselves and it. And if any should be so foul, no man's hand should be sooner against him than mine should be."—Laud's Works, vol. vi., i., 45.

* *Troubles*, p. 159.

quarrels of the seculars and regulars in England, but whose real work was to prepare the way for the residence of a Catholic bishop in London.* When, however, this part of the project came to be unfolded afterwards, Laud firmly withstood it, and in spite of "divers offers made," and the earnestness of the Queen, persisted in his opposition, so that the King refused to accede to his wife's passionate request.†

Laud's rough and uncourteous manners were as distasteful to the gay Queen as they were to the courtiers, many of whom had become Papists to please her, and the downfall of the Archbishop was sought with as much eagerness in the saloons of Whitehall as it was in the secret conclaves of the Puritans.‡ But the King was faithful to him, and took his religious policy from his mouth, and thus the Archbishop, though really the great obstacle in the way of the designs of the Papists, was unjustly stigmatized in the country as the abettor and favourer of the detested religion.§ The real occa-

* Heylin's *Laud*, 305.

† *Troubles*, p. 163.

‡ Guizot, *English Revolution*, p. 41 (trans.). "Mr. Hyde told him (Laud) that it grieved him to find persons of the best condition, and who loved both King and Church, exceedingly indevoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them, when they had occasion to resort to him, it may be, for his directions; and that he did exceedingly wish that he would more reserve his passion towards all persons, how faulty soever, and that he would treat persons of honour, and quality, and interest, in their country, with more courtesy and consideration."—Life of Lord Clarendon, Works, p. 932.

§ See the defence of Laud's policy towards the Papists, in Heylin's *Laud*, 408, sq.

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sion of the charge, and that which seemed to lend it vigour and life, was the ceremonial and ritualism which Laud continued to advance with unabated and infatuated severity. Unthinking and bigoted men confounded all attempts to procure a decency and splendour of worship with the meretricious extravagances of the Papists. It was not possible for all to look at ritualism from the same point of view as those whose natural tendency was towards a sensuous worship, and the lover of simple and spiritual services, obliged to kneel at the rails and to bow at the name of Jesus, would naturally revenge himself by the imputation of Popery against those who upheld these grievances.

State of Province of Canterbury Jan., 1637.

In the Archbishop's report for his province, rendered in the January of this year, there is somewhat a fuller account of the progress of his policy than had been before presented, and not quite such a decided attempt to imply a general accordance and acquiescence in his measures as had been made in the previous year. For his own diocese of Canterbury, the Archbishop reports, that he still has some trouble with a knot of separatists in the neighbourhood of Ashford, and recommends to the King that they shall be forced to "abjure the kingdom" by the judges.* This contrasts somewhat curiously with the policy which was, in fact, adopted this year, of preventing the emigration of restless spirits from the coun-

* Archbishop Laud's Report, January, 1637, printed in Appendix to *Troubles*, p. 539.

try.* The next paragraph in the Canterbury report is a very painful one. "I have received information from my officers," says Laud, "that the Walloons and other strangers in my diocese do come orderly to their parish-churches, and there receive the sacraments, and marry according to my injunctions."† Persecution had here done its work. The foreigners who had trusted themselves to English soil, under the promise that their religion should be respected, had been at last forced to succumb. The Bishop of London complains of several libels having been vented, both in the pulpit and in print, against "the bishops and the government of the Church of England" (Mr. Burton was soon to become sufficiently famous in this matter). In Winchester, Popery is allowed to be on the increase. Bishop Pierce, Laud's model bishop, who stuck at no half-measures, reports all well from Bath and Wells. So is all said to be in the dioceses of Oxford, Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Exeter, Chichester, and Peterborough. This year the indefatigable Archbishop had himself visited the Welsh dioceses. His report does not set forth many disorders as existing there. There is said to be great resort of Romanist pilgrims to the famous Holy Well; and the Lady Falkland and her com-

* The King would appear at this time to have held with the archbishop that it was better to be rid of troublesome Nonconformists. Upon the report of Mr. Bridge, of Norwich, having left his lecture, and gone into Holland, he notes in the margin, "Let him go—we are well rid of him."

† Report, u. s.

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pany had gone there this year, travelling on foot, and "dissembling neither their quality nor their errand." There is also another grievance noted in the proceedings of the Court of Marches. "Much more," says the Archbishop, "might be done in Wales in a church-way if they were not overborne by the proceedings of the Court of Marches there."* The Bishop of Rochester was ill, and from two dioceses, Gloucester and Litchfield, no report had been sent in. Bishop Goodman (Gloucester) was probably in a state of disgust and pique at his intrigue for Hereford having been discovered and thwarted, and his money lost: and for the Bishop of Litchfield, Laud probably gives the right reason why his report was not forthcoming. "I fear whereas the bishop was lately complained of to your Majesty for making waste of the poor woods there remaining, he is not over-willing to give an account of that particular."†

There remain only the important dioceses of Lincoln and Norwich to be accounted for. For the first, both the report and the comments on it are extremely singular. Bishop Williams reports but two particulars of importance. The first, that he had caused to be removed from occupying the place of the holy table, a stone which had been set up by some injudicious incumbent, but which was proved to be a grave-stone. This Laud mentions favourably to the bishop, but the King writes against it, "This may prove a bold part in the bishop, and the poor priest in no fault;" a point

* Report, u. s., p. 545. † *Ib.*

not without significance in respect to Williams's sentence in the Star-Chamber a few months afterwards. The second point which the Bishop of Lincoln notes, is the unwillingness, in some parts of his diocese, of the people to come up to the rails to communicate. He says, that he had procured rails to be placed about the holy table, but because it was not regulated by the canon as to the people being obliged to come to them, he prays for further directions. The expression, he had caused rails to be put about the holy table, is evidently used with design, as we find that Bishop Williams had evaded the injunction by ordering the tables to be railed all round, leaving them still standing in the middle of the chancel, and not placed altarwise. But the comments both of Laud and the King are especially remarkable. "Truly," says the Archbishop, "I think for this particular, the people will best be won by the decency of the thing itself; and that I suppose may be compassed in a short time," and the King notes in the margin, "'Try your way for some time."* If the ecclesiastical government had been really administered in this spirit, how different might the result have been? Chap. XV. 1637.

We now come to the diocese of Norwich. Bishop Wren had visited it thoroughly by himself and his Chancellor, Dr. Corbet, and he had sent in to the Archbishop "a very careful and punctual account; very large, and in all particulars very considerable." He had been residing at Ipswich, Bishop Wren at Ipswich.

* Report, u. s., p. 543.

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the head-quarters of Nonconformity in his diocese, and, in fact, in England, and had found lectures abounding in the city, and throughout the county, "without so much as the knowledge of the ordinary, and without any due observation to the canons and discipline of the Church."* He had, however, dealt with them with temper, and by only inhibiting some few, had reduced them to regularity. Together with the abundance of lectures in the diocese, there was a general defect in catechizing. At Norwich, which contained thirty-four churches, a skilful plan had been hit upon by the clergy to defeat the inhibition against afternoon sermons. Morning prayers without sermon were read at all the churches, arranged at such a time as that they were over half-an-hour before the cathedral service commenced.† The churchgoer might thus be present at prayers in his own church, and at sermon in the cathedral. But at the afternoon service, as there had been no sermon in the morning, there must needs be one in all the churches. Thus catechising was avoided, and two sermons furnished. When Wren first came to the diocese, he had given directions to have this abuse taken away. But the clergy had resisted, "some scurvy fellow," as the bishop calls him, having asserted to the Chancellor that it was the bishop's wish that all should attend the cathedral service.‡ In spite of

* Chancellor Corbet speaks of that "ratsbane of lecturing, the virulency whereof hath intoxicated many thousands in this kingdom."—*Tanner MSS.*, 68, 3.

† Wren's letter to Corbet, *Tanner MSS.*, 68, 26.

‡ *Tanner MSS.*, u. s.

this, however, the bishop enforced a sermon in every church in the morning, and catechizing in the afternoon. His lordship and his chancellor prevailed for the present, but it was not without much discontent on the part of both clergy and laity.

Sir S. D'Ewes's account of his Visitation.

Sir S. D'Ewes was then living in Suffolk, and thus describes the proceedings taken (which have been before alluded to). "The Bishop's Commissioners, at his first visitation, sat at Bury St. Edmunds, on Tuesday, March 29, and there continued till Thursday night. They examined the churchwardens in many new and strange articles, never before used since the Reformation, in religion. This ensadded the souls of all that had any true piety; and these new impositions, many of them were deemed to be so dangerous and unlawful, as divers godly and orthodox men either left their livings voluntarily, or were suspended and deprived because they would not yield unto them. And whereas, to avoid idolatry, superstition, and offence at the beginning of the Reformation of the Church in this realm, the altars were removed and taken away in most churches of England, and communion tables placed instead of them; now the communion tables were removed out of the middle of the chancels, and ordered to be set up close against the east wall of the same chancels, where the ground was to be raised and the table to be railed in;* so as the charge of it in this diocese, to the

* We are able to produce the very order on which, in all probability, Sir S. D'Ewes's remarks are grounded. It was made for

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extreme oppression of the poor inhabitants (whose souls already groaned under the burden of the ship-money tax), amounted unto between thirty and forty thousand pounds, at an indifferent and reasonable computation. The communion table being thus placed altar-wise, the minister was enjoined, both before his sermon and after his sermon, to go

the Church, or Chapel, of St. James, in Bury St. Edmunds, 2 April, 1636. It is copied from the *Tanner MSS.*, in the Bodleian, 68, 43:

"The Commissioners having viewed and considered of placing the communion table in the chancel of the said chapel, ordered and desired that the seat and floors round about from the door on the south side, and all the way under the east window to the door on the north side, shall be taken down to the east window, and an ascent of three steps to be made, which shall be paved; and upon the uppermost step a cross rail to be fixed or placed, from the south wall to the north wall, made with turned pillars, and betwixt every pillar a little square bar, in that manner that dogs may not go through the rail, to be set about a foot above the said third floor, that the communicants may have room to kneel at the receiving of the Communion; and in the middle of the said rail two leaf-doors to be made to open inward, each of the said doors to be about a yard in breadth; and the ground being so raised and paved, from the bottom of the glass in the east window to the ground, it shall be sealed, and wainscotted in such manner as the rest of the said chancel. And the said Commissioners further ordered and desired that the seats or pews in the middle aisle of the said church shall be removed and taken away; and power was given to the churchwardens to place there handsome moveable forms, for the ease of such people as shall be placed there to hear divine service and sermons; also power to such persons as are or shall be placed in the fixed pews or seats, on the east side of the said middle floor, to lengthen out every of their seats on each side two foot, in straight lines on each side, and that in a uniform fashion and not otherwise, in height and fashion according to the ancient seats of the church, and not higher. And that the minister's desk or pew shall be taken away, and shall be made or fixed to the pulpit, in the same proportion of itself in respect of the pulpit in length and breadth, as it is appointed in St. Mary's."

up thither and to read some part of the service, which all the parishioners, I believe, could not hear in any church, and not one part in five in any of the greater churches. This made all men wonder why these men, that so much cried up the Common Prayer above preaching, would so far vilify it as to have the minister run from the people, and to read it at so far a distance as they could not possibly hear, which is unquestionably unlawful, as Bishop Wren himself acknowledged unto me when I visited him at Ipswich." *

Such is the view taken of Bisop Wren's Visitation by a layman of moderate Puritanical principles. We can see, indeed, that it is exaggerated and unreasonable to a certain extent, but it is a view which deserved more consideration and respect than the bishops, armed with an unhappy power, were inclined to give it.

Laud's system best exemplified in Norwich.

The Laudian system of Church Government is best illustrated in the diocese of Norwich,† where it was administered with an unscrupulous and unhesitating strictness. Bishop Wren entered into the system *con amore*, and with a thorough devotion. Promoted as he had been to the see some two years after the unhappy order about reading the *Book of Sports* had been promulgated, he might at least have let that matter sleep, and taken it for granted that a proper obedience had been paid.

* Sir S. D'Ewes's *Autobiography*, i., 141-2-3.

† In accordance with this view, we have selected Bishop Wren's orders, directions, &c., as best stating the requirements of the new discipline. They will be found printed in Appendix B.

Chap. XV. 1637. Not such, however, was his view of his duty. On inquiring at his Visitation, he found that the publication had not been made in many places; "and having," says he, "about sixty books in hand, I caused them to be proposed to such persons as I had most doubt of, but many of them refused to publish the same, and were suspended for their refusal." * At the end of the year we find him representing to the King that those persons who stood under ecclesiastical censure ought to be deprived of their livings, and the King consenting, doubtless, this last punishment was carried out.† This was making shorter work than even Laud himself ventured to do; for Mr. Lawrence Snelling, Vicar of Pauls-Cray, was some four or five years in the hands of the Court of High Commission, for refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, and to read the *Book of Sports*, before Laud deprived him of his living, and left him excommunicate.‡ (Feb. 9, 1638.)

The effect, however, of Bishop Wren's rigour was, that he was able to report that "Divine service both for prayers, catechism, and sermons, is diligently frequented; and that beyond what could suddenly be hoped for in such a diocese, and in the midst of the humorousness of this age."§ The poor bishop, however, who can reduce with such a high hand the "unconformable ministers," is

* Rushworth, ii., 461.
† Laud's Report, Jan. 1638, *Troubles*, p. 549.
‡ Rushworth, ii., 459, sq.
§ Laud's Report, u.s.

sorely puzzled what to do with those people who have the back-doors of their houses opening on the churchyard. On this matter, says the Archbishop, "he is utterly in despair, because they which have these back-doors into churchyards, will plead prescriptions, and then a prohibition will be granted against the ecclesiastical proceedings."* It is truly astonishing to read the small matters which the bishops think it worth while to dwell upon in their reports, when no notice whatever is taken of the deep-seated and scarcely-concealed discontent produced by the violent coercive measures so rashly used. We find Laud gravely informing the King that he had commanded a butcher's slaughter-house to be closed; that he was about to order the baptism of an adult, of whom it was doubtful whether he had ever been baptized; and the "mean people" about Ashford, who will hold conventicles, still trouble him.†

Laud's manifold employments.

The Archbishop interested himself about the smallest things as well as the greatest, and the wonder is that even if he thought such matters worth his attention, he could possibly find time to attend to them amidst his multitudinous employments and cares. We will enumerate a few of the petitions presented to him in this year, the manuscript copies of which still show a note carefully appended to each, usually referring the matter to Sir J. Lambe for further inquiry and arrangement. The milliners at the Royal Exchange petition the

* Report, u. s.

† Report, Jan. 1638, *Troubles*, p. 546.

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Archbishop to be allowed to sell Bibles in embroidered covers, at the Exchange, "on account of the constant and daily recourse of the nobility and gentry thither from all parts of the kingdom."* John Haviland, a printer, petitions the Archbishop that he may be allowed to sell his types to some "master of the said mystery of printing."† Journeymen printers petition against foreigners being employed.‡ Sir Francis Wallis petitions against Thomas Abbis, a baker, for selling unlawful books.§ In fact, the censorship of the press alone furnished sufficient employment for a man of ordinary activity. It was not now the easy matter that it was in the days of Elizabeth. Books and tracts were multiplied. They were printed abroad, and, in spite of all precautions, imported wholesale into England. They were printed in London, in defiance of the most stringent rules, and the danger of most terrible penalties. John Lilburne and John Warton, the printers of the *News from Ipswich*, were condemned to be whipped through the streets and to stand in the pillory; but even in the pillory Lilburne continued to distribute tracts, of which his pockets were full, and the people eagerly to receive them.‖ The aggravated punishment inflicted on Lilburne, for this contumacy, is one of the most cruel on record. He was laid with double irons on his hands and feet, so that he could not move, in the most wretched dungeon in the Fleet, with the deliberate intention (as it seems)

The press restrained.

Punishment of Lilburne.

* *Tanner MSS.*, 67, 33. † *Ibid.*, 34.
‡ *Ibid.*, 39. § *Ibid.* ‖ Rushworth, ii., 466.

of starving him to death, for it was especially ordered that "he should not be supplied with any hand." A fire suddenly breaking out in the prison, his fellow-prisoners insisted on his being removed, and he was afterwards somewhat better treated.*

But in spite of whipping, pillory, and prison; in spite of edicts, proclamations and search-warrants, printing still went on, and "seditious books" were to be had at every book-stall in London. The bishops might have learnt that there must have been a great demand to secure a supply under such difficulties. We do indeed find some recognition of the popular discontent in the bishops' report for this year. The Bishop of Exeter tells of the people being disquieted with accusations of Popery made against the Scotch Liturgy, and the same is certified by the Bishop of Bristol.† Such rumours would not be likely to be cleared away by the report of Mr. Adams's sermon preached at Cambridge this year, in which he asserts the necessity to salvation of confession to a priest; nor by the further account that when this doctrine was canvassed by the heads of houses, a majority of them were in favour of inflicting no censure on the preacher.‡ In fact, the rumours of Popery to which the Scotch outbreak gave birth, now became so strong, that the Archbishop was obliged to take some steps to clear himself from the imputation.

Popery on the increase.

* Rushworth, ii., 467.
‡ Laud's Report, Jan., 1638, *Troubles*, p. 551.
‡ Collier, viii., 120, sq.

Chap. XV. 1637. Recusants were multiplying in Kent and Hampshire,* as well as at Court; the Pope's Nuncio had come over with great store of trinkets and relics.† Walter Montagu and Toby Matthews were actively intriguing for their newly adopted faith, and many sober Protestants in England doubtless thought that they should live to see the establishment of the Inquisition. "It is evident," says Neal, "that there never was a stronger combination in favour of Popery, nor was the Protestant religion at any time in a more dangerous crisis."‡ The Archbishop was assailed by libels telling him that "the devil had left him that house (St. Paul's) to say mass in," or "that the government of the Church of England, like a candle in snuff, was going out in a stench."§ The least approach to a fair and tolerant review of the position of the two churches was treated as open apostacy to Rome, and Montagu and Cosin who advocated the view entertained by Laud of the desirableness of a reconciliation, if Rome would forego some of her later errors and superstitions, were openly stigmatized as Papists.‖

* Report, u. s. † Heylin's *Laud*, 358.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 251. See Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 469, sq.

§ Laud's *Diary*.

‖ Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 246. We ought not to pass by without mention the story of Bishop Montagu's negotiations (real or supposed) with Panzani, the Romish agent in England. Mr. Hallam gives it at length from Panzani's *Memoirs*—*Cons. Hist.*, i., 479—82. The mere fact of his negotiating in the matter, surely proves nothing against the bishop. The negotiation came to nothing. It is admitted by Mr. Hallam, that Montagu had no authority whatever to speak for the primate, and he also allows soon after this, the Court of Rome had ceased to hope for

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Under these circumstances, the steps which the Archbishop determined on, were to call in by proclamation Francis de Sales' book, called *The Introduction to a Holy Life*, and to reprint with enlargements his *Conference* with Fisher the Jesuit. The former book had been licensed by one of the Archbishop's chaplains, but after the license granted, certain passages had been surreptitiously introduced. The latter, first published fourteen years before, had probably been a good deal forgotten, or if not forgotten, ignored by the Puritanical assailants of the Archbishop. The writer himself thus speaks of it: "Had this book been written according to the garb of the time, fuller of railing than reason, a learned Jesuit would have laughed at it and me, and a learned Protestant might have thought I had written it only to conceal myself and my judgment in those difficulties. But being written in the way it is, I believe no Romanist will have much cause to joy at it, or to think me a favourer of their cause. And since I am thus put to it, I will say thus much more. This book of mine is so written, as that whensoever the Church of England shall depart from the grounds which I have therein laid, she shall never be able before any learned and disengaged Christian, to make good her difference with, and her separation from the Church of Rome."*

Chillingworth's treatise.

In this same year Chillingworth's famous treatise,

any success with the English bishops. In discussing the Anglican prelates at the time, three only, Morton, Hall, and Davenant, were held by the Romish writer to be obstinately opposed to the Church of Rome, the rest moderate.—See Heylin's *Laud*, 414, sq.

* *Troubles*, p. 160.

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the *Religion of Protestants*, appeared, which although it takes altogether different grounds from those of Laud and Montagu, was nevertheless peculiarly *apropos* to the occasion. Chillingworth had been converted from his fanciful adhesion to Romanist views mainly by the influence of Laud, who was his godfather. "He was gone," says the Archbishop, "and settled at Douay. My letters brought him back, and he lived and died a defender of the Church of England."* But the Puritans having made up their minds that Laud should be a Papist, were not to be forced to give up their favourite theories by the vulgar influences of truth and facts. No; as one of them ingenuously confessed, "The Archbishop might print, and the Doctor might preach what they pleased against Popery, but he should never think them to be the less Papists for all that."† This was the charge by which they had long been fondly calculating to work his ruin, and it was not likely that they were going to abandon it merely because it was shown to be groundless. It was not enough for the Archbishop thus to appeal to the public by the setting forth of his controversial treatise against the Romanists; he had not scrupled to make a violent attack in the council on the favour and countenance shown to the Romanists at Court, though by this he was certain to anger the Queen, and ran great risk of displeasing the King. His complaint was, however, attended to, and Montagu and Matthews were banished from the Court.‡ There was indeed nothing false

* *Troubles*, p. 227. † Heylin's *Laud*, p. 361. *Ibid*, p. 359.

in the character of Laud, but a headlong and passionate earnestness, which scorned all considerations of policy; if he had indeed favoured Romanism, he would at once have avowed it, for in reality he was as much flying in the face of the nation by the system which he advocated and enforced, as he would have been openly proposing a union with the Pope.

State of Province of Canterbury, Jan., 1638.

Most of the matters noticed in the Archbishop's Report for January in this year, have been already considered in the order of their occurrence; but there is a paragraph in the Report from the Bishop of Exeter which demands attention. We can hardly realize the state of things when Algerine and Turkish rovers could make their descents upon the coasts of England, and carry off the unhappy villagers to a miserable slavery. Yet such had been not an unfrequent occurrence in the earlier days of Charles I.* One of the arguments in favour of levying the tax of ship-money, was the necessity of driving the pirates out of the narrow seas. Many of the unfortunate prisoners had lately been recaptured, and some of the strongholds of piracy destroyed; but the poor peasants when brought back to their native land, were found in many instances to have embraced Mahommedanism to save themselves from persecution and utter misery, and Bishop Hall consults the primate as to the proper way of receiving them again into the Christian Church. A form was drawn up and approved of by several of

* See the letters of Lord George Carew to Sir Thomas Roe (published by the Camden Society), where numerous instances are mentioned.

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the bishops, which Laud takes care to have registered, "to remain as a precedent for future times, if there should be any more sad examples of apostacy from the faith."*

This year's report contains another scandalous imputation against Bishop Wright, who had been translated from Bristol to Litchfield. In the former year he had been accused of wasting the woods belonging to the see of Litchfield, and now his successor at Bristol complains bitterly that he had carried off, and detained in his custody, all the writings belonging to the estate of Cromhall, which it appears he had unfairly leased away, but the King had ordered that the lease should expire and return to the bishopric.† All the strictness and care of the Archbishop and the King had not, as yet, taught the dignitaries of the Church to deal fairly with the property of their endowments. The laymen, following, perhaps, the unfortunate example of some of the high-placed ecclesiastics, were by no means more scrupulous. Bent upon turning their estates from arable into pasture, they depopulated the villages to save themselves from the troublesome neighbourhood of the poor and suffering; they refused to present incumbents to their livings, seized upon the tithes and turned the churches into barns.‡ Sometimes the duty of repairing the fabric of the church was neglected until it had fallen into ruins; instead of rebuilding, the owners of the land thrust the "inhabitants upon

* Report for Jan., 1638, *Troubles*, p. 550. See the Form in Wilkins's *Concilia*, iv., 552. † Report, u. s. ‡ *Ib.*

neighbouring parishes, where they fill the church, and pay few or no dues."* Meantime, the squire helped himself to the lead off the roof, sold the bells, and perhaps built a new wing to his manor-house with the well-worked and substantial masonry. We suspect that much of the lay distaste to disciplinarian bishops was due to an unwillingness to have these matters inquired into. "Roxborough," says Sanderson, "opposed the bishops, not in duty to religion, but in fear to lose his lordship's rich abbey of Kelsoe, with the demesnes, and seven-and-thirty parish churches impropriate — a small bishop himself.†

Bishop Goodman, of Gloucester, was still in dudgeon, and nursing his spite against Laud (of which he was soon to give an example in the Convocation), had again neglected to send in his report; and the covetous Bishop of Litchfield was also silent. Bishop Williams was under suspension and in the Tower. The jurisdiction of his large diocese had fallen to the Archbishop, but he professes that he had had no time to attend to it. At this we certainly cannot wonder. How even a part of his multitudinous affairs was transacted by Laud, is a far greater subject of astonishment. We are told that even the smallest thing that was published did not escape him. Not only so, but he managed to hear of anything important even in MS. Mr. Hales's "little discourse of schism, contained in less than two sheets of paper,"‡ and handed about

John Hales, of Eton, and Laud.

* Report, u. s.

† Sanderson's *Reign of King Charles*, p. 227.

‡ Clarendon's Life, Works, p. 929.

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among a few of the writer's friends, soon came to the knowledge of the Archbishop, and led to that interview between them, which even Mr. Hallam acknowledges was "equally honourable to both parties."* John Hales was a man whose reputation was far higher among his contemporaries than his *Remains* (rather unmeaningly called *Golden*) seem to justify. He was admittedly the first Greek scholar of his day. Sir Henry Savill's grand edition of Chrysostom was in reality his work, but the one was Warden, the other Fellow of Merton, and the name of higher position was affixed to the work. In religious principles he was a latitudinarian, like Chillingworth. "He would often say that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned."† "He had borrowed from Leyden," says Hallam, "perhaps a little from Racow, a tone of thinking on some doctrinal points as yet nearly unknown in England."‡ He had gone to Dort inclined to Calvinism, but disgusted with the advocates of that dogmatism, whom he saw there in their true colours, he had afterwards become an Arminian. Appointed Fellow of Eton College, he had buried himself in his books, "the most separated from the world of any man then living, though he was not in the least inclined to melancholy, but, on the contrary, of a very open and pleasant conversation."§ He would never take any cure of souls,

* *Const. Hist.*, i., 487.
† Clarendon, u. s.
‡ Hallam, u. s.
§ Clarendon, u. s.

neither caring to be disturbed in his studies, nor valuing the emolument which he might have secured. He was a great contemner of money, and found his Eton income more than he could spend. He had adopted many singular opinions on religious points, which, however, he was reserved in communicating, saying that though he was sure they would do him no harm, yet he could not be so certain they might not hurt others.* We find from Aubrey that he "much loved to read Stephanus, who was a Familist, and the first that wrote of the Family of Love." He is also said by him to have been attracted towards Socinian notions.† From his accustomed reticence, however, he had been unadvisedly drawn to satisfy the inquiries of a friend on the difficult points of heresy and schism. It was the reading of this little tractate which caused the Archbishop to summon him to Lambeth. "They continued in discourse," says Heylin, "till the bell rang to prayers, and after prayers were ended, till the dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord Conway, and some other persons of honour, put a necessity upon some of the servants to give the Archbishop notice how the time had passed away. So in they came, high-coloured, and almost panting

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* Compare with this Sir T. Browne. "These opinions I never maintained with pertinacity, or endeavoured to inveigle any man's belief unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed or disputed them with my dearest friends, by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in myself."—*Religio Medici*, Works, ii., 331, ed. 1852.

† Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 499.

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for want of breath, enough to show that there had been some heats between them, not then fully cooled."* To suppose that Laud convinced and converted Hales in this interview (as is asserted by Heylin) is thought by Mr. Hallam to be "ludicrous, considering the relative abilities of the two men." Hales was, however, at any rate reduced to his wonted reserve and conformity, and the compact was soon afterwards sealed by the gift of a prebendal stall at Windsor.

Hales on schism.

The short tract on schism which had occasioned this interview, is one of considerable power and point. It begins by stating that heresy and schism are two theological scarecrows, which those who desire to uphold a party in religion make use of to frighten away all who would make inquiries. The real schism is defined an *unnecessary* separation from communion; every man is to be his own judge about the necessity, and when the separation is necessitated by the rulers of the Church, the guilt of schism is theirs. This guilt may be incurred by them by charging churches and liturgies with too great pomp of garments, gestures, imagery, music, &c., and is often also incurred by Episcopal ambition.† We are not surprised at hearing that Laud returned from the discussion of such obnoxious views as these rather heated and excited, and it was lucky for Mr. Hales that he was a good Grecian, and a known hater of the Calvinists, or he

* Heylin's *Laud*, 362.

† See tract on Schism, printed at the end of Hales's *Golden Remains*, London, 1673.

would certainly have experienced the tender mercies of the Court of High Commission.

The King's Commissioners sent to Edinburgh.

Meantime, matters were proceeding apace in Scotland towards the entire extinction of the episcopal form of Church government. The universal signing of the Covenant, and the face of sturdy opposition which everything wore, induced the King to try the effects of a conciliatory policy. In May, the Marquis of Hamilton, appointed High Commissioner to settle all matters in dispute, arrived at Dalkeith. After the arranging of some preliminaries, he was conducted to Holyrood House, "with multitudes of both sexes, whose acclamations were curses and exclamations against Popery and bishops."* On Saturday evening, he received a letter from the ministers of Edinburgh, telling him that "whosoever should read the English service, though in the King's chapel, should die the death;"† and he soon found that about this point at least there was to be no surrender. Having spent some time in useless negotiations, and finding the nation absolutely bent on upholding their Covenant, and having a General Assembly for religious, and a Parliament for secular affairs forthwith summoned, the Commissioner yielded to all their demands. He had repaired twice to London to take counsel with the King, and on September 22 he appeared in Holyrood House before the Lords of the Privy Council, and exhibited before them two missives from his Majesty. The first of these ordained and sanctioned the Covenant, and

Concessions to the Scotch.

* Nalson's *Collections*, i., 33. † Sanderson, 238.

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the confession of faith which it contained; the second "discharged the service-book, book of canons, and high commission, and the practice of them."* At the same time was made proclamation for the General Assembly of the Kirk and for the Parliament. So great a victory won in so short a time, and by the rude weapons of noisy outcry and mob-law, might have been supposed likely to satisfy even the most aspiring of the Covenant party. Not so, however. The extreme party was still dissatisfied, because the King in his proclamation had not openly condemned episcopacy and the five Articles of Perth. These, they said, fettered the General Assembly which was to meet, and the concessions were incomplete and valueless.

On the other hand, for the advice which led to these concessions, and for his conduct afterwards at the Glasgow Assembly, the Marquis of Hamilton has been generally condemned by the Royalists as a traitor to his master, as one whose interest was to embroil matters that he might pursue his own private ends, and who had no less a design than to compass, in the confusion, the throne of Scotland for himself.† The charge of treachery, however, should perhaps be removed a step higher. The King's permission for the General Assembly had not been made in good faith. "As for this General Assembly," says he, "though I can expect no good from it, yet I hope you may hinder much of the ill; first, by putting divisions among them

* Nalson, i., 51, sq.

† See the accounts in Sanderson, Heylin, Clarendon, &c.

concerning the legality of their elections, then by protestations against their tumultuous proceedings."* The marquis appears to have endeavoured faithfully to act upon these instructions. He consumed the time in hearing the protest of the bishops who had been excluded from sitting in the Assembly in their proper function, but had been summoned by a libellous citation to appear as criminals; in discussing the admissibility of lay elders, in the election of a moderator, and some debates touching the votes and suffrages, and at the end of eight days, before any real business had been done, he dissolved the Assembly by the King's proclamation.† If the members of the Assembly had been weak enough to yield to the legal dissolution, the whole proceeding would have been perfectly innocuous; but under the bold and able presidency of Alexander Henderson, they continued their session, abolished episcopacy, voted it antichristian, excommunicated all who favoured it, condemned liturgy, canons, articles of Perth, and every part of the Church system, which James and Charles had so long laboured to build up; exalted Calvinism, stigmatized Arminianism, and returned to the blessed times of John Knox.‡

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Assembly at Glasgow.

In the spring of this year, the diocese of Norwich was relieved from the strict discipline of Bishop Wren, who was translated to the easier and more

* Charles to Marquis of Hamilton, Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, p. 82.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 375.

‡ See Dr. Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, chapter xii.; Cunningham's *History*, v. ii., c. ii, &c.

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lucrative See of Ely, and was succeeded at Norwich by Bishop Montagu, translated from Chichester. Montagu was of the same school of theology as Wren, but not so strict a disciplinarian. His first act seems designed to bespeak popularity. Bishop Wren had rigidly enforced the order that all communicants should come up to the rails, and receive the holy elements in a kneeling posture. This was always one of the especial grievances of Puritanism. Montagu declared that it was the "only thing which troubled his diocese, and that heretofore many have been excommunicated and suspended for not doing so."* He devised a scheme which he thought would please all parties. After the words, *Draw near*, pronounced by the minister, all who intended to communicate were to come into the chancel and so arrange themselves as to leave sufficient room for the priest or minister to go between them. Thus, standing in rows, they were to receive the bread and wine, and then be all dismissed with the benediction. We do not hear whether this arrangement, which was doubtless well meant, satisfied the Puritan scruples; it certainly displeased the Archbishop and the King, and provoked the late bishop of the see to a reply.†

Montagu at Norwich.

Patriots and Puritans.

Things had, however, now nearly arrived at that point when no concessions would avail. Every day the great mass of the English laity were being thrown more completely into the arms of the Puritan faction. The real abuses of the civil

* Laud's Report, Jan. 1639, *Troubles*, p. 557.

† Heylin's *Laud*, p. 366; Report, u. s.

government combined with the vexatious and suicidal over-discipline of the Church to weld together patriot and Puritan in a compact mass of opposition. "Two sorts of men," says Calamy, by the conjunction of their causes were united in their endeavours for a reformation. One party made no great matter of the alterations in the Church, but said that if Parliaments are once down and property gone, and arbitrary government set up, and law subjected to the Prince's will, then all were slaves, and this they reckoned intolerable. The other sort were more religious men, who were also sensible of these things, but much more affected with the interest of religion. But because they who were of this stamp agreed with the others in the vindication of liberty and property, therefore did they of the other sort more easily concur with them in opposition to the proceedings of the Bishops and High Commission Court."* The key to the whole history of this time is to be found in these words.†

War with Scotland.

The audacity of the Glasgow assembly and the persecutions with which they followed up their unauthorized proceedings, were considered by the King and his advisers to necessitate a war with Scotland. The Scotch themselves, conscious of the offence they had given, were preparing an army,

* Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 20.

† "The profound politicians among the patriots, as Pym and Hampden, had allied themselves to the religionists. The factions at first amalgamated, for each seemed to assist the other, and while the contest was doubtful, their zeal as their labours was in common."—Disraeli's *Charles I.*, i., 512.

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having entrusted the command-in-chief to Alexander Leslie, a veteran of the school of the great Gustavus. But it was no easy matter for the King of England to raise an army to attack his northern subjects. The treasury was empty,* and only by strange and unpalatable means was there any hope of raising the required supply. The nation was full of discontent. The English, it is true, hated the Scotch, whom they considered to have engrossed much more than their share of the good things both in Church and State; † still they had no wish to fight for the bishops, whom they liked as little as they did the Scotch.‡ It was, however, determined to make a bold attempt. For raising funds, one of the most obvious sources was the clergy. There was no Convocation sitting to grant subsidies, but in a matter of this sort, voluntary benevolence might be calculated on. In January, 1639, Archbishop Laud despatched a letter to his suffragans, reciting the iniquities of the Scotch, and "not doubting" that the bishops and clergy will be "free according to the power and proportion of means left to the Church to contribute towards the raising of such an army as by God's blessing and his Majesty's care, may secure this Church and kingdom from all intended violence." The clergy and "abler schoolmasters" were to be excited to contribute, but they were to call no "poor curates or stipendiaries;" and the proportion expected was at

Benevolence from the clergy.

* "The treasury, whatever Clarendon and Hume may have said, was perfectly bankrupt."—Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 496.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 377-8.

‡ Hallam, u. s.

least 3*s.* 10*d.* in the pound of the valuation of the living in the King's books.* It is said that the clerical contributions considerably exceeded what was expected. The diocese of Norwich contributed above £2,000, and the archdeaconry of Winchester alone £1,300.† And as the clergy scrupled not to contribute themselves, so also they were forward to uphold the King's claim to levy moneys on his subjects, and that sometimes in a way to bring themselves into trouble.

Mr. Harrison's case.

About this time Mr. Thomas Harrison, an incumbent in Northamptonshire, was tried before Sir J. Bramston, and committed to prison, for having accused Justice Hutton openly at the bar of his court of high treason. The ground upon which the incensed divine rested his charge was, that Hutton had given an opinion unfavourable to ship-money—the well-known judgment in the case of Hampden, in which Hutton and Crooke held for the plaintiff. This opinion, in Mr. Harrison's view, was "an infringement of the royal supremacy."‡ Ship-money also was a tax to be paid with readiness and gratitude, in the view of Mr. Richard Powell, clerk, who was delated before the Star-Chamber by one of his aggrieved parishioners, on the ground of his having imputed injustice to the King. Mr. Powell was, however, able to show that the charge was ony hypothetical, that is to say,

Mr. Powell's case.

* Laud's Letter, Heylin, 380-1.

† Heylin's *Laud*, p. 381.

‡ *Harleian MSS.*, B. M., 737, 18. See also Laud's Works, vi., 524.

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that even if they had an unjust King, they ought to pay his levies; much more then when they had so gracious and excellent a sovereign ought they to do it with all readiness. This doctrine was not likely to be distasteful in the Star-Chamber, and Mr. Powell was dismissed without censure.*

State of Province of Canterbury, Jan., 1639.

In spite of the Scotch troubles, the Archbishop's report for this January breathes nothing but peace and contentment. In his own diocese he does not find that Papists or Puritans increase. By a strange coincidence, in each of the dioceses of London, Lincoln, Worcester, Hereford, and Bristol, there is one, and one only, refractory person. Oxford, Exeter, Litchfield, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Rochester, and St. Asaph, have not even this single specimen of inconformity to trouble them. The chief complaints are with respect to dilapidations and wastes. In Lincolnshire, the Archbishop reports there are many miserably poor vicarages and curateships. In Exeter, the impropriators suffer a "willing ruin" in the churches which belong to them. Bishop Wren reports from his new diocese of Ely, that above a thousand loads of wood had been cut down and wasted under his predecessor, Francis White. The poor Bishop of Bangor complains that everything had been leased away from the see, even "the very mill which grinds his corn." Bishop Montagu from Norwich, laments over "decay of his houses and the impoverishing of that bishopric by some of his predecessors." Again, from Litchfield the com-

* Rushworth, ii., 470.

plaint comes, that even "some part of the episcopal house had been leased out." These scandalous devastations of Church property were now in course of being met and remedied by the care of the Archbishop and the King. At Bristol, it is said that many poor persons were under excommunication for non-payment of fees. This points at a grievous abuse, and one against which the Puritans especially cried out. Church censures, inflicted by lay chancellors, were used simply as means of legal coercion and exaction. In the case of the rich and contumacious, an excuse might, perhaps, be alleged, but where merely poverty prevented the payment, it seemed a cruel mockery to excommunicate, and this, accordingly, the Archbishop suggests should be remedied. The King writes in the margin, "In this ye have very great reason, for it is not fit that the sentence of excommunication should stand longer than needs must."* Chap. XV. 1639.

The single unconformable minister in the dioceses of London and Hereford mentioned in this report, are both somewhat conspicuous personages in the Church history of these times. The former was John Goodwin, vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, who is here represented as having made himself troublesome by "preaching some over-nice curiosities concerning the imputation of Christ's righteousness in the justification of a sinner." John Goodwin was a very remarkable man. An ultra-Puritan in some of his views, he yet dissented from the Calvinistic notions, and in his theology Mr. Goodwin of St. Stephen's.

* Report for January, 1639, *Troubles*, pp. 553—558.

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came nearer to the teaching of Laud and Montagu. He is regarded as the founder of the school of evangelical Arminians. The distinguishing mark of his theological system appears to be the attributing to special faith a peculiar efficacy in the work of justification. It is not (according to him) the imputation of Christ's merits, which procures justification for the sinner, but his own special conviction that he has a share in those merits. It is the subjective act of the mind, not the objective matter of belief which is immediately instrumental. It is not repent and be pardoned, but believe that you individually *are* saved, and you shall be saved. This fanciful tenet is invested with a special importance as having been, and still being, the favourite dogma of the Wesleyan Methodists. "John Wesley," says Mr. Marsden, "espoused Goodwin's opinions, and republished his works, which, in force and perspicuity, and freedom from the cumbrous verbiage of the times, are remarkable. The Wesleyan body adhere exclusively to the views of Goodwin, and attach considerable importance to his distinctions."* Goodwin became a Presbyterian, and afterwards an Independent. He is honourably distinguished by his advocacy of the great truth of universal redemption, and as having vigorously assaulted the narrow bigotry of Calvinism in a work called *Redemption Redeemed*.

Mr. Workman of Gloucester.

The refractory minister in the diocese of Hereford, was "one Mr. Workman, sometime a lecturer in Gloucester." The persecution of this man is one of the strongest charges usually brought against

* Marsden's *Early Puritans*, 349—51.

Archbishop Laud, and figures prominently in Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom.** It appears that Mr. Workman had preached an extremely offensive sermon about pictures and ornaments in churches. Laud also charges him with "inconformity in a very high degree" (whatever may be the exact meaning of that phrase). At any rate, the High Commission Court had silenced Mr. Workman in his lecture at Gloucester, and imprisoned him, and had even punished the corporation of that city for having granted him an annuity. He is now represented as living in the house of Mr. Kyrle of Wallford, "without any cure or other known employment, but having received information that he was about to be called on to conform, he had fled from the diocese, and is gone God knows whither." The employment in which Mr. Workman was really engaged, was the keeping a private school, and the Archbishop was evidently not directly concerned in stopping him in this. After this, he is said to have attempted to practise physic, and to have been again inhibited by the Archbishop's means; "which tyrannical and unjust pressures," says Prynne, "drew on craziness and sickness of body," and as his most intimate friends were persuaded, shortened his days.† The case of Mr. Workman is rendered striking by his unfortunate death, but in reality it was only the case of large numbers of other ministers.

* Page 103—108.

† Prynne, *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 108. The story acquires point and vigour as it passes from one hand to another. "He fell into a melancholy disorder and died," says Neal. "Workman went mad, and soon after died," says Guizot.

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Nonconforming clergy fly or yield to Laud's strict discipline.

The Archbishop carried out his system with a relentless and uncompromising rigour, and had now almost succeeded in reducing the whole clergy of England to at least an outward conformity to his injunctions. Many had left their cures and fled. Some had retreated to Holland, where they joined the Independent congregations, of which the practice of Mr. Robinson was the first original.* Others had gone to New England, where the Calvinistic platform had been generally adopted. Here in their new home they unfortunately displayed a rancorous spirit of fanatical bigotry far more intense and unwarranted than that from which they had fled; and the fiercest and bitterest denouncer of Laud never brought a charge against him of a crime equal in atrocity to the flogging of Anne Burden, and the deliberate murders of Robinson, Stevenson, and Mary Dyer.† But those who remained in England were constrained and frightened into an apparent conformity. The Calvinist put a strain upon his conscience, and ceased to preach of election

Atrocities in New England.

* "Here on the quays of the great Dutch ports, by the sides of docks of green water, where ships were unloading, and merchants and sailors going about with pipes in their mouths, or in more inland towns, by the sides of lazy canals flowing amid quaint red and white houses, there walked, in those years, many an exiled minister, free from all fear of Laud. There are English and Scotch congregations to this day in some of the Dutch towns, the lists of whose pastors are unbroken from the year 1610.—Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 378.

† "The intolerance with which the Puritans had been treated at home, might at least have taught them a lesson of forbearance to each other. But it had no such effect. It would almost seem as if, true disciples in the school of the High Commission and the Star-Chamber, their ambition was to excel their former tyrants in the act of persecution."—Marsden's *Early Puritans*, p. 305.

and reprobation. The scrupulous hater of Rome condescended to bow to the altar, and to summon the faithful to the rails to receive the communion. The bishops who were regarded as the leaders of the party whose theology and views were opposed to Laud, had been pressed into his service, and made to do duty in recommending his favourite dogmas. Bishop Morton had written in defence of bowing towards the holy table, and was eagerly quoted by his High Church brethren as having lent the great weight of his authority to the practice. In the parish register of Aldbourne, in the diocese of Salisbury, is still preserved an order made by Bishop Davenant, directing the table to be placed altar-wise, inhibiting the churchwardens from meddling in the arrangement, and referring them to the "first article not long since inquired of in the visitation of our most reverend Metropolitan." *

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Bishop Morton.

Bishop Davenant.

A greater and more influential name than even those of Morton and Davenant, was that of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, but this year witnessed him also lending the sanction of his authority and learning to the most ultra views of the Archbishop on the divine right of episcopacy. His treatise was composed at the suggestion, and submitted to the revision of Laud; the Archbishop freely animadverted upon it, and altered it, and the Bishop of Exeter meekly accepted and adopted the corrections of his ecclesiastical superior.† There is some little

Bishop Hall.

* Bishop Davenant's order, printed in Laud's Works, vol. vi., pt. i., p. 61, note. Oxford, 1857.

† Heylin's *Laud*, 398—402.

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mystery yet to be cleard up in the relations of these two prominent men. Bishop Hall, in his Autobiography, certainly speaks bitterly of Laud, and alludes to complaints which he had had to answer on his knees before the King.* Yet in the various Reports of his province, the Archbishop always speaks well of the Bishop of Exeter, and the joint composition of this work on episcopacy seems to indicate friendly and even intimate relations between them. Upon having the main heads of the work submitted to him, Laud writes to Hall, "Since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure and better advice (so you are pleased to write), I do not only thank you heartily for it, but shall, in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom, put some few animadversions, such as occur on the sudden, to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which so much is concerned."† To the animadversions thus conconveyed, Bishop Hall answers, "I should be unthankful if I did not acknowledge in every one of these lines of so long a letter written with your Grace's own hand, a new obligation to me who know the price of your time, yet the matter of them binds me more. Those animadversions were so just, that I had amended those passages (divers of them),

Hall's treatise on episcopacy.

* Thus too, in his *Hard Measure*, he speaks of "the height and insolency of some church-governors, and the ungrounded imposition of some innovations upon the churches of both Scotland and England."—Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 295.

§ *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 233.

voluntarily ere I received this gracious admonition."* Laud's corrections being thus favourably received, the book was written and despatched to the Archbishop, with a very humble letter, submitting it to his Grace's free censure, "not personal (for," says Hall, "I could not be so weak as to think your Grace could lose so much time in the perusal of it) but deputative."† The Archbishop replies commending the book, and telling Bishop Hall, "These are to let you know, that were my occasions greater than they are, I would not suffer a book of that argument, and in these times, to pass without my particular view. And therefore, my lord, these may tell you that both my chaplains have read over your book; and that since them, I have read it over myself very carefully, every line of it; and I have now put it into the hands of my Lord Bishop of Ely" (Wren). He had also, as he tells Bishop Hall, made some few alterations, and submits several more to him, and those of by no means an unimportant character. He desires that the case against the foreign Churches should be stated more strongly; that something should be said against the Sabbatarians; that it should not be left a matter of indifference whether episcopacy be called an order or a degree; the whole weight of the case, according to Laud, turning on this point. Lastly, he says, he had been obliged to acquaint the King that in three or four places of the book the pope is called Antichrist. This King James had indeed written against the Pope, but, as Laud says,

* *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 234. † *Ibid.*, 256.

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" not concludingly, but by way of argument only," and King Charles did not desire to have it thus stated.*

Bishop Hall's answer to this letter does not, it must be confessed, tend to increase our admiration of him. It shows how completely he was under the influence of the Archbishop, and how far he was willing to go in writing theology to order. He humbly thanks his grace for his trouble in reading his book, and for the unnecessary amount of courtesy shown in consulting him about the alterations proposed in his own writings. He apologises for giving good words to the foreign Churches, though he is really stronger against them than most people. But, he says, " it is but a dash of your chaplain's pen " to alter the courteous language. " For that of the Sabbatarians," he says, " I have put a drop or two of vinegar in my ink in several places." For that passage concerning Antichrist I have turned it upon themselves, without a declaration of my own judgment." For the matter with regard to episcopacy being a distinct order, he had advisedly left it doubtful ; but now, at the Archbishop's bidding, he had stated it as Laud wished.†

Laud hated by the laity.

The whole correspondence illustrates, perhaps, as strongly as possible, the assertion that the Archbishop had now managed to establish an almost complete ascendancy over the whole clergy of the Church. But with the laity he had made no progress. In them there was not the same ready and

* *Canterbury's Doom*, 273-4. † *Ibid.*, 275.

complete apparatus of suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment. The High Commission Court and the Bishops' Consistories were sufficient to vex and exasperate, without breaking or intimidating their spirit. The grand and fundamental mistake which Laud had made, was the ignoring and slighting the great body of intelligent, wealthy, spirited, and energetic lay gentlemen of England. It is, perhaps, impossible for us rightly to estimate the bitter detestation in which the low-born, mean-looking, rough, uncourteous, passionate little man,* who was misgoverning England, and leading the King they still loved into ruinous courses, was held by the dwellers in the old halls and manor-houses of the country.† Many of these had now banded together at the call of their sovereign, and marched northwards against the Scotch; and if infatuated counsels had not prevailed, they would soon have scattered to the winds the feeble battalions of General Leslie.

* "A little, low, red-faced man."—Sir S. D'Ewes's *Autobiography*, ii., 100.

† "He found the Archbishop walking in his garden, who asked him 'What good news in the country?' To which he answered, 'There was none good; the people were universally discontented, and (which troubled him most) that every one spake extreme ill of his grace, as the cause of all that went amiss.'"—*Lord Clarendon's Life*, Works, p. 932. Note the extreme bitterness with which the Puritanical Mrs. Hutchinson speaks: "The corrupted bishops and other profane clergy of the land, who, by their insolences, grown odious to the people, bent their strong endeavours to disaffect the Prince to his honest, godly subjects..... But there were two above all the rest who led the van of the King's evil councillors; and these were Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, a fellow of mean extraction and arrogant pride, and the Earl of Strafford."—*Hutchinson's Memoirs*, i., 132.

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First campaign against the Scotch.

The royal army was a gallant and well-equipped force; it was officered by men who had learnt the trade of war in the Low Countries and Germany, under the great captains of the age; it was commanded by the Earl of Essex, an excellent general, and a man of keen sense and resolution. In spite of the machinations and wiles of the Scotch, Lord Essex entered Berwick without opposition, at the head of 12,000 men; while the King followed in his rear, summoning to his standard all the nobility of the kingdom, and holding high court at York, the northern capital of England. But among those who surrounded him, both Scotch and English, treason and treachery were rife. The Earl of Arundel, the nominal general of the army, was an incapable man; Lord Holland, who commanded the cavalry, was either a coward or a traitor; the Marquis of Hamilton, with a fine fleet, lay idly at Leith, and attempted nothing; the Scotch explained, protested, and tampered with the leading men, and the result of all was that a pacification was made at Berwick. "The armies were to be disbanded, an act of oblivion passed; the King's forts and castles to be restored; and an assembly and Parliament called for a full settlement: no persons reserved for justice, because no fault had been committed." The King's army immediately melted away, but the Scotch returned to Edinburgh, and straightway gave out "that they did not intend, by anything contained in the treaty, to vacate any of the proceedings which had been in the late general assembly of Glasgow." The

bishops were still excommunicated and proscribed, and penalties decreed against any man who should presume to harbour them in their houses. The Parliament and General Assembly, summoned in August, at Edinburgh, acted in the same spirit which had prevailed at Glasgow. Not content with the King's concessions as to the use of the Liturgy, &c., and his allowing the Covenant, they would insist upon episcopacy being denounced as *unlawful*, the Covenant being *enforced* upon all. The Earl of Traquair, the King's Commissioner, either traitorous or deceived, exceeded his instructions in assenting to these fanatical requirements; and the King found himself committed to measures which, if not energetically protested against, might be used against him with overwhelming effect by the discontented party in England.*

Thus the expensive and imposing military promenade to the north had, in fact, produced absolutely nothing.† On their part, the Scotch were extremely elated, and began to promise themselves great things. They had discovered how vast a source of strength they had in the general discontent of the English nation, at the King's arbitrary government. They had risen in the consideration of foreign nations. Holland was ready to furnish them with arms and ammunition, and Richelieu intrigued with them, and promised them support. Nothing

* Nalson's *Collections*, i., 254-7. Russell's *History of the Church in Scotland*, chap. xiii.

† Clarendon's *History*, pp. 46—51, Oxf. ed., 1843.

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Preparations for a Parliament.

less was now talked of among them than the invasion of England. The advisers of the King, having discovered their treasonable practices and their ambitious designs, thought the occasion an eminently happy one for appealing to the patriotic spirit of Englishmen in a Parliament. For eleven years, by shifts and expedients, most of them discreditable, all of them unpopular, they had managed to carry on the Government without the aid of the great council of the nation. They must have been conscious that a vast store of righteous indignation had been accumulating all this time in the breasts of free Englishmen, debarred from their political rights by an unjustifiable State-craft. But the exchequer was absolutely empty, and no way of replenishing it remained. They imagined that in indignation against the Scotch, all the home grievances in Church and State would be forgotten, and the resolution was taken to summon a Parliament for the following Spring.

CHAPTER XVI.

Anticipations of a Parliament—Report of Province of Canterbury for 1640—The Sectaries—The Romanists—Scandals in Bishop Wren's new diocese—Depredations of Church property—Opening of Parliament—The temper of the House in religious matters—Mr. Pym's speech—Mr. Waller's attack on the clergy—Conference with the Lords—Parliament dissolved—Convocation of 1640—Dr. Turner's sermon—Dr. Stewart, prolocutor—Laud's speech—Commission to make canons—Reasons for its being granted—Subsidies granted—Convocation not dissolved with the Parliament—Laud's explanations—Convocation changed into a Synod—Makes canons—Bishop Goodman protests—Refuses to subscribe—His previous conduct—Review of the canons—The *Et Cætera* oath—Excitement caused by it—Sanderson's letter to Laud—The oath dispensed with—Lambeth palace assaulted—Army marches against the Scotch—King determines to call another Parliament—Laud's omens—Threatened dangers—Death of Archbishop Neile—The clergy of this period.

THE principal adviser of the resolution to call a Parliament had been the Earl of Strafford, who was in England in November, and whose opinion, backed by the great success of his Irish administration, was all-powerful with the King. The Lord Deputy had undertaken for Ireland, and had engaged that the Parliament of that country should

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be forward to assist the King against the rebellious Scotch. The event soon showed that he had not spoken unadvisedly. Letters came from Ireland breathing the most fervent loyalty to the King on the part of his Irish Parliament, announcing that they had voted him four subsidies, and taken order for the raising of an army of 8,000 men to act against the Scotch.* From this ready acquiescence and zeal, the King and his counsellors might be encouraged to augur well of the more important council about to assemble in England. No conciliatory measures, however, were used by way of soothing the temper of the constituent bodies. "Ship-money was levied with the same severity, and the same rigour used in ecclesiastical courts without the least compliance with the humour of any man." †

Report of Province of Canterbury, Jan., 1640.

But before we proceed to the consideration of matters connected with this short Parliament, and to the history of the Convocation which assembled with it, we must review the annual report of the state of the Province of Canterbury, presented to the King by the Archbishop, in Jan., 1640. He begins by lamenting that the obscure sectaries in his diocese still troubled him, and could not be got rid of.‡ This reveals to us a very important fact con-

* Nalson's *Collections*, i., 280, sq.; Rushworth.

† Clarendon's *Rebellion*, p. 53.

‡ Brownists and Anabaptists are also said in this report to abound in the dioceses of Hereford and St. Asaph; and Laud remarks, "Your Majesty may hereby see how these schisms increase in all parts of your dominions."—Report, *Troubles*, p. 562.

nected with the Church history of the times. Unconformable clergy could be reduced, even laymen of mark and position could be frightened by the terrors of the High Commission Court into a sullen outward compliance, but the obscure sectaries were beyond clerical control. Too numerous for imprisonment, too poor for fines, too stubborn for monitions, they began now greatly to abound and multiply, especially in the metropolis. Instructed and excited by teachers the most fanatical and ignorant, in the wildest schemes of theology, drawn from the metaphorical poetry of the Old Testament, "notwithstanding the active inquisition of Laud," says M. Guizot, "sects of all descriptions assembled in towns, in some cellar, in the country, under the roof of a barn, or in the midst of a wood. The dismal character of the locality, their perils and difficulties in meeting, all excited the imagination of preachers and hearers; they passed together long hours, often whole nights, praying, singing hymns, seeking the Lord, and cursing their enemies."* These were the men who, in a few years, were to make the Ironsides of Cromwell, to reign for a time triumphant; and then, by the wildness of their eccentricities, to restore the government in Church and State, which they so much hated. They were the *débris* of the congregations of the Puritan ministers, who had either conformed, been silenced, or fled; and having lost the pastors to whom they had formerly loved to listen, they were now at the mercy of any

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The Sectaries.

* Guizot, *English Revolution*, p. 61. (Trans.)

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tailor or shoemaker who would assert a call, and invoke Heaven's judgments against the persecuting bishops. These sectaries were now despised, but they were soon to be feared.

The Romanists.

In the dioceses of Winchester and Oxford, Popish recusants are said to be upon the increase, but legal proceedings had been taken against them. The same is noted in the dioceses of Litchfield and Coventry. Laud, we are told by Heylin, "had some thoughts by conferences first, and, if that failed, by the ordinary course of ecclesiastical censures, of gaining the Papists to the Church; and therefore it behoved him in point of prudence to smooth the way by removing all such blocks and obstacles, which had been laid before them by the Puritan faction."* By labouring to provide a ceremonial in public worship somewhat similar to their own, by avoiding and repressing irritating and scurrilous attacks upon them, while at the same time the censures of the law were allowed to operate, the Archbishop hoped to bring about this desirable end, and it is not impossible that under other circumstances he might have succeeded. But his policy was not given time fully to develop itself.

There are scarcely any inconformable or troublesome ministers noted in this report. Nine or ten bishops certify that there is absolutely nothing to complain of, but one, rather more observant than his fellows, makes the remark that his diocese (Chichester), "is not so much troubled with Puritan ministers as with Puritan justices of the peace, of

* Heylin's *Laud*, 417.

which latter there are store."* Even the diocese of Norwich is described by its new bishop as being "as quiet, uniform, and conformable as any in the kingdom, if not more." The indefatigable activity of Bishop Wren had hunted up some abuses in the diocese of Ely. Sir John Cutts, a gentleman near Cambridge, kept a chaplain, not being qualified by law. Sir John defended his practice on the ground that his chaplain was, in fact, the curate of the parish.† Childerly, where he lived, had become depopulated, the church had fallen, and its ruined walls had been turned into brewhouse and stable for the knight's mansion. But to this sinecure Sir John presented an incumbent, and not only so, but caused the incumbent to appoint a curate, who lived in the knight's house, and performed service in a chapel for Sir John and his family. He had managed somehow or other to "devour a good rectory," and that almost within sight of the University of Cambridge; but Bishops Wren and Laud were not the men to connive at these irregularities, and Sir John was summoned before the Court of High Commission. In Cambridge itself, Bishop Wren found that the chapels of Emanuel, Sidney, and Corpus Colleges had never been consecrated, and that the churches in the villages round the University were generally served by the college fellows who resided in Cambridge, and did not pay

Scandals in Bishop Wren's new diocese.

* Report, *Troubles*, p. 564.

† In the diocese of Peterborough, there is complaint of the same thing being done. "Some knights and esquires keep schoolmasters in their houses, or scholars to converse with, or *diet* the vicar, where his maintenance is small."—Report, u. s.

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any attention to their cures during the week. He reported also a curious case from Tadlow, of which doubtless good use was made by the advocates for communion rails. It seems that on Christmas-day a dog had actually seized upon the bread provided for the Eucharist, and though it had been taken from him, yet the minister had refused to consecrate it, and no other bread being to be procured, the congregation had been deprived of the communion. There was also another sacrilegious squire presented to the bishop, one Sir Francis Hind, who had pulled down the church of St. Etheldred, in Histon, forced the parishioners to "thrust themselves" upon another church, appropriated the tithes, sold the bells, lead, timber, stones, &c., or else used them to build his dwelling-house at Madingley, and had now left his ill-gotten spoils to his heir, who was a child, and of whom no redress could be obtained.*

Depredations of Church property.

Each year's report brings to light some of these disgraceful depredations committed on church property, and the stern discipline of Laud was doubtless very useful to the Church in reforming some of the most glaring of the abuses. We strongly suspect, however, that the greater part of his suffragans did not look into matters with the searching glance of Bishop Wren, and preferred to live on good terms with their wealthy lay neighbours, to involving themselves in disputes and law-suits for the good of the Church. It is certain that there

* Report for the Province of Canterbury, Jan., 1640, *Troubles*, p. 558—564.

must have been either a wilful shutting of the eyes, or a deliberate suppression of the truth, when on the eve of the Long Parliament, more than half of the bishops of the Province of Canterbury could report "all right" in their respective dioceses. The King appended to this report the remark, "This is no ill certificate;" which words may serve to explain much of his subsequent policy. He was without doubt deceived as to the state of feeling in the country on religious matters, and even after many outbreaks of bitter spite against the episcopal order, he could not bring himself fully to believe that the heart of the great mass of the nation was so violently hostile to the bishops.

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At the opening of the Parliament on April 13, the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ely. The King had not made choice of a very popular orator to address the great council of the nation, and prepare them for their duties, but probably he thought that indignation against the Scotch would be sufficient to carry them on. After having chosen their Speaker, and gone through the customary formalities, the House of Commons proceeded to appoint its committees for religion and grievances, and to invite the Lords to join with them in a solemn fast, "because the principal way and means to attain to a happy and prosperous conclusion in their affairs, is to beg the Divine assistance and direction of Almighty God in all their consultations by solemn humiliation." Archbishop Laud made a bold attempt to neutralize the committee for religion, by proposing that a joint committee should

Opening of Parliament.

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be formed of a certain number of members of the House of Commons, and an equal number of clergy from the convocation,* but this arrangement was not accepted. In fact, immediately upon the House commencing business, it was seen of what sort a temper the members were on religious questions. Mr. Capell, member for Hertfordshire, presented a petition from his constituents, complaining of the grievances of ship-money, projects, monopolies, Star-Chamber and High Commission Courts, and Mr. Harbottle Grimstone followed up the prayer of it by a speech, in which he said, "The commonwealth hath been miserably massacred, and all property and liberty shaken, the Church distracted, the Gospel and professors of it persecuted."† After him Sir B. Rudyard, the most eloquent man in the House, and a good friend to the Church, denounced the "many disorders that had been committed, by innovations in religion, violation of laws, and intruding upon liberties."‡

The temper of the House on religious matters.

Mr. Pym's speech.

But a more direct attack was made on April 17, by Mr. Pym. He declaimed against the encouragements which had been given to Popery, and "divers innovations in religion amongst ourselves to make us more capable of a translation; Popish books published and used, and the introducing Popish ceremonies, as altars, bowing towards the east, pictures, crosses, crucifixes, and the like, which of themselves considered," said the orator, "are so many dry bones, but, being put together,

* Heylin's *Laud*, 422. † Rushworth, iii., 1129.
‡ Rushworth, iii., 1130.

make the man. We are not now contented with the old ceremonies, I mean such as the constitution of the reformed religion hath continued unto us; but we must introduce again many of those superstitious and infirm ceremonies which accompanied the most decrepit age of Popery, bowing to the altar, and the like. I shall observe the daily discouraging of all godly men, who truly profess the Protestant religion, as though men could be too religious. Some things are urged by ecclesiastical men without any ground by any canon or article established, and without any command from the King, either under his Great Seal or by proclamation. The Parliament, ever since Queen Elizabeth's days, desired the bishops to deal moderately; but how they have answered these desires we all know, and these good men for the most part feel. I may not forget that many of the ministers are deprived for refusing to read the book for *Sports and Recreation* upon the Sabbath day, which was a device for their own heads: which book I may affirm hath many things faulty in it. Then the encroaching upon the King's authority by Ecclesiastical Courts, as, namely, the High Commission, which takes upon itself to fine and imprison men, enforcing them to take the oath *ex officio*, and many like usurpations; and the power which they claim they derive not from the King, nor from any law or statute, but they will immediately have it from Heaven, *jure divino*. Divers particular ordinaries, chancellors, and archdeacons take upon them to make and ordain constitutions within their parti-

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cular limits."* This speech, considering the character of the orator, was mild. "Mr. Pym," says Lord Clarendon, "mentioned the King with the most profound reverence, and commendation of his wisdom and justice."† The House was as yet in no angry mood, but its attitude was firm and decided. It now calmly applied itself to the investigation of the circumstances connected with the dissolution of the last Parliament.

The King, impatient and angry at nothing being done about supply, summoned the two Houses to the Banquetting House, and exhorted them by the Lord Keeper to attend to his wants, speaking at the same time in a conciliatory tone about their grievances. Upon the report of this address being made to the House, Mr. Waller made a sharp attack upon the clergy for their teaching of doctrines against the liberty of the subject. "I am sorry," said he, "these men take no more care to gain our belief of those things which they tell us for our soul's health, while we know them so manifestly in the wrong in that which concerns the liberties and privileges of the subjects of England; but they gain preferment, and then 'tis no matter that they neither believe themselves nor are believed by others; but since they are so ready to let loose the consciences of their kings, we are the more carefully to provide for our protection against this pulpit-law by declaring and reinforcing the municipal laws of this kingdom."‡

Mr. Waller's attack on the clergy.

* Rushworth, iii., 1133. † Clarendon's *History*, p. 54.
‡ Rushworth, iii., 1142.

The King, finding the Commons still harping on grievances instead of proceeding to supply, went to the House of Lords and induced them to pass a vote that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, "they hold it most necessary and fit that matters of supply should have the precedence."* To this the Commons replied by voting it a breach of their privileges; but on Tuesday, April 28, they agreed to a conference with the lords on divers matters, the first of which was, "Innovations in matters of religion." In the sketch of the Conference they premised by declaring that they would be bound by no canons "that are or shall be made upon any Commission granted to the Convocation without their consent in Parliament," and that the different complaints made to the House shall be taken into consideration. These complaints related to (1.) The licensing of Popish books. (2.) Removing the communion tables. (3.) Setting up crosses, images, and crucifixes in cathedrals, churches, and chapels. (4.) Refusing to administer the sacrament to any but those who will come up to the rails to receive it. (5.) Making articles at visitations. (6.) Molesting and depriving godly ministers for not reading *Book of Sports*, &c. (7.) Enjoining to bow to the altar. Here, in fact, was the whole Puritan programme at once set forth, and to make it more effectual, Mr. Pym was appointed to manage this part of the Conference before the lords.† On Saturday, May 2, Sir Henry Vane, Treasurer of the King's Household,

Conference with the Lords.

* Rushworth, iii., 1146.

† *Ib.*, 1147-8-9.

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came down with an urgent message to the Commons exhorting them to attend to supply, and on Monday, May 4, he brought down another message, requiring the Commons to grant twelve subsidies to be paid in three years. The House showed no inclination to yield to this demand. It passed the whole day of the 4th in deliberation, and intended to resume the debate on the 5th: but the King, believing that they would not grant him the supplies he required, and fearing the discussion of grievances on which they appeared so steadily bent, in an evil moment dissolved the Parliament.

Parliament dissolved.

Convocation of 1640.

We now come to one of the most interesting and critical episodes in the history of our Church—the account of the Convocation of 1640. We have the relations of several who were present at the meeting to guide us, but not so full and copious as they might have been written, for, says Fuller,* (who was one of the proctors) "it was ordered that none present should take any private notes in the house; whereby the particular passages thereof are left in great uncertainty. However, so far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate, being comforted with this consideration, that generally he is accounted an impartial arbitrator, who displeaseth both sides." The Convocation met on April 14, in St. Paul's chapter-house, and "waited upon his grace and the rest of the bishops, to hear the sermon in the choir." The sermon was preached by

* *Ch. Hist.*, xi., iii., 11. Besides Fuller's account, we have Heylin's (in his *Life of Laud*), who was a principal person in the Lower House, and Archbishop Laud's own account, in the *Troubles*.

Dr. Turner, chaplain to the Archbishop, and Residentiary of St. Paul's. He took for his text, Matt. x., 16: "Behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves," which, says Heylin, "he followed home to the purpose." In the close of his sermon he made a sharp attack upon some of the more tolerant bishops, complaining of the injustice they did to their stricter brethren by allowing all the odium to rest upon them for the enforcement of discipline and good order, which all the bishops were equally bound to maintain. After the sermon, the clergy unanimously chose Dr. Richard Stewart, Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, and Dean of Chichester, to be their prolocutor. The synod was then adjourned. Meeting again the next day in Henry VII.'s chapel, in Westminster Abbey, Dr. Sheldon, warden of All Souls, presented the prolocutor to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop received him, "each of them delivering his conceptions in elegant Latin speeches, as the custom is, but the Archbishop's longer than both the rest."* Fuller says "the Archbishop's speech was well-nigh three-quarters-of-an-hour long, gravely uttered, his eyes ofttimes being but one remove from weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the Church, but concluded with a

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Dr. Turner's sermon.

Dr. Stewart, prolocutor.

Laud's speech.

* Heylin's *Laud*, 423. Dr. Sheldon is said to have been the first who publicly denied the Pope to be Antichrist, at Oxford. The Doctor in the chair (Prideaux) wondering at it, said, "Quid, mi fili, negas Papam esse Antichristum?" Dr. Sheldon answered, "Etiam, nego." Dr. Prideaux replied, "Profecto multum tibi debet Pontifex Romanus, et nullus dubito quin pileo cardanilitio te donabit."—Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 497.

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special passage, acquainting us how highly we were indebted to his Majesty's favour, so far intrusting the integrity and ability of that Convocation, as to empower them with his commission, the like whereof was not granted for many years before, to alter old, to make new, canons for the government of the Church."*

Commission to make canons.

With this introduction, the Archbishop produced the King's commission under the great seal, authorizing the Convocation to make canons. It was six-and-thirty years since this license had been given to the representatives of the Church, and we may pause for a moment to inquire why, in these troublous times, a privilege so long withheld should have been conceded. The explanation will be found in the document by which the King ratifies the canons, and in an attentive consideration of the canons themselves. Archbishop Laud, whose whole policy was one of inconsiderate rashness, had discovered that he had been dangerously exceeding the law. That in strictly enforcing tables altarwise, rails, bowing towards the altar, special articles of visitation, and divers other matters, he was not borne out by the canons of 1604. It was intended, therefore, to make a body of ecclesiastical laws, which should have a retrospective force, and also make the discipline, which had now for some years been exacted, be more easily and legally enforced for the future. "For the procuring of this commission," says Heylin, who was in the inmost confidence of Laud, "the Archbishop had good reason,

Reasons for its being granted.

* Fuller's *Church History*, xi., iii., 13.

as well *for countenancing and confirming his former actings*, as for rectifying many other things which required reformation."* And this fully appears in the King's declaration. "Forasmuch as we are given to understand that many of our subjects being misled against the rites and ceremonies now used in the Church of England, have lately taken offence at the same upon an unjust supposal that they are *contrary to our laws*," &c., the declaration goes on to assert that they were used by the Reformers, but had lately begun to fall into disuse, and then having recited the powers given to this Convocation to make canons, it ratifies and confirms the canons made.†

It was evidently intended by a politic stroke to make the ground firm and sure, but the policy after all was questionable. The very enacting of new laws seemed to imply that the former practice had had no law to rest on, and the conciliatory tone manifested in the canons themselves, though by some it might be received as condescension, by others might be treated as betraying the endeavour to escape easily from a false position. Compare, for instance, the concluding sentence of canon vii. with the previous practice of Laud and some of his suffragans: "Let not those which use this rite (bowing towards the altar) despise those who use it not; and let not those who use it not, condemn those who use it."‡ If this rule of Christian charity had, indeed, been the canon of the High

* Heylin's *Laud*, p. 424.

† Sparrow's *Collection*, 337—344. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 363.

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Church prelates, then truly they have been maligned even by their friends. The judicious members of the Convocation clearly perceived for what purpose the Commission had been given, and what ends they were intended to serve. "They suspected," says Fuller, "lest those who formerly had *outrun* the canons with their additional conformity (ceremonizing *more than was enjoined*) now would make the canons *come up to them*, making it necessary for others, what voluntarily they had prepractised themselves."* Heylin, indeed, says that the Commission was "exceedingly acceptable to the greatest and best affected part of the whole assembly,"† and thus the Convocation was divided between the rash disciplinarians, who wished to reduce all by the strong hand, unmindful of the signs of the times; and the wise men, who preferred "to be censured for laziness, and the solemn doing of just nothing," according to the precedents of the last thirty-six years, "than to run the hazard by overactivity of doing anything unjust."‡

The third session of the Convocation was held on April 22, and seven of the bishops, on account of the urgency of public affairs, were allowed to absent themselves that they might attend to their duties in the House of Lords. The prolocutor and Lower House were then sent for by the Archbishop, and informed that the bishops had agreed to grant the King six subsidies of four shillings in the pound. The Lower House were recommended

Subsidies granted.

* Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*, xi., iii., 14.
† Heylin's *Laud*, 425. ‡ Fuller, u. s.

to take it into consideration at once. In a very short time they reported that they had unanimously agreed to the motion. They then directed two of their members to compile a form of prayer to be used on behalf of the Parliament, and some preliminary discussion took place with regard to the two canons designed for suppressing Romanists.* Nothing was done in the four sessions which intervened between April 22 and May 5, and when the moderate men in the House heard the great news of that day, that the King had suddenly dissolved the Parliament, they, doubtless, congratulated themselves that the danger which they had feared was happily passed away. They knew that the King's commission expired with the Parliament, having been only granted for the time of its duration, and it was therefore with no small amazement that they heard that the Convocation was adjourned, but not dissolved.

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There is a discrepancy, in relating this important passage of Church history, between Heylin and the Archbishop; and in a matter so completely within Laud's cognisance, we feel bound to follow his statement, as (in spite of Mr. Prynne) no reasonable grounds for impeaching his veracity have ever yet been established.† The Archbishop, then, thus explains the circumstance: "During this Parliament the clergy had agreed, in Convocation, to give his

Convocation not dissolved with the Parliament.

Laud's explanation.

* Nalson's *Collections*, i., 361-2.

† Mr. Lathbury follows Heylin and Collier, who had never seen Archbishop Laud's *History of his Troubles*.—*History of Convocation*, 246-7.

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Majesty six subsidies, payable in six years; which came to twenty thousand pounds a year, for six years; but the act of it was not made up. His Majesty, seeing what lay upon him, and what fears there were of the Scots, was not willing to lose these subsidies; and, therefore, thought upon the continuing of the Convocation though the Parliament were ended, but had not *opened these thoughts of his to me*.* Now I had sent to dissolve the Convocation at their next sitting; haste and trouble of these businesses, making me forget that I was to have the King's writ for the dismissing, as well as the convening, of it. Word was brought me of this, from the Convocation House, while I was sitting in council, and his Majesty present. Hereupon, when the council rose, I moved his Majesty for a writ. His Majesty gave me an unlooked-for reply; namely, that he was willing to have the subsidies which we had granted him, and that we should go on with the finishing of those canons which he had given us power, under the Broad Seal of England, to make. And when I replied it would be excepted against, in all likelihood, by divers, and desired his Majesty to advise well upon it, the King answered me presently, that he had spoken with the Lord Keeper, the Lord Finch, about it, and that he assured him it was legal. I

* This completely contradicts Heylin's statement, "possibly the Convocation had expired the next day also, if one of the clergy (meaning himself, see Lathbury, 246, note) had not made the Archbishop acquainted with a precedent in Queen Elizabeth's time for granting a subsidy without help of the Parliament."—Heylin's *Laud*, p. 429.

confess I was a little troubled both at the difficulties of the time and at the answer itself; that after so many years faithful service, in a business concerning the Church so nearly, his Majesty would speak to the Lord Keeper, both without me and before he would move it to me; and somewhat I said thereupon, which pleased not, but the particulars I do not well remember. Upon this I was commanded to sit and go on with the Convocation. At first some little exception was taken by two or three in the Lower House, whether we might sit or no. I acquainted his Majesty with this doubt, and humbly besought him that his learned council and other persons of honour, well acquainted with the laws of the realm, might deliver their judgment upon it. This his Majesty graciously approved, and the question was put to them. They answered as followeth, under their hands: 'The Convocation being called by the King's writ, under the Great Seal, doth continue until it be dissolved by writ or commission under the Great Seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be dissolved.

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"'14 Maii, 1640.
"'Jo. Finch, C.S.

"'H. Manchester.
'John Bramston.
'Edward Littleton.
'Ralph Whitfield.
'John Bankes.
'Robert Heath.'

This judgment of these great lawyers settled both Houses of Convocation. So we proceeded according to the power given unto us under the Broad Seal,

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as is required by the statute, 25, H. 8, cap. 19." * The Archbishop appears to have underrated the opposition in the Lower House to the continuance of the Convocation, when he speaks of the dissentients being some two or three. Fuller says, "Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Holdsworth, Mr. Warmistre, with others, to the number of thirty-six (the whole house consisting of about six-score), earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocation." † The judgment of the lawyers, however, so far prevailed with the dissentients, that they did not "dissever themselves, nor enter any act *in scriptis*, against the legality of this assembly, the rather because they hoped to moderate proceedings with their presence." ‡ The assembly now no longer sat as a Convocation, but as a Synod. § A new writ was issued, dated May 12,

Convocation changed into a Synod.

* *Laud's History of his Tryal and Troubles*, pp. 79-80. Lord Clarendon says that the Convocation might, under this authority, legally make canons, but not grant subsidies.—*Rebellion*, p. 60.

† Fuller, *Church History*, xi., iii., 16.

‡ Fuller, u. s.

§ This change of name was afterwards made the occasion of violent attacks upon them. Thus Sir E. Dering: "I will take them in the capacity of their own affected title of a Synod. Such they bragged themselves to be while they sat, such they style themselves in the title-page of their never to be canonized canons. They have assumed it seventeen times—it is their own pride, their own presumption. The King hath not done it (pardon me), no prince ever did or can do it; no power, regal, imperial, or Papal, did ever attempt it, to ordain that William and Richard, Matthew and John, and I know not who more, being met and assembled upon other summons, shall, by a commission, be on a sudden translated from what they were into an unthought of national Synod, without voice or choice of any man concerned. This never was done, this never can be well done."— Sir E. Dering's *Speeches in Matters of Religion*, pp. 27—29.

repealing the old commission, and continuing the Convocation *during pleasure*, instead of *during the present Parliament*. The Convocation of the Province of York was continued in the same way. Chap. XVI. 1640.

On May 15, Sir Henry Vane was sent down by the King to recommend the Convocation to continue their labour of making canons, and on the 16th the prolocutor, accompanied by the Deans of Canterbury and St. Paul's, presented his grace, the president, with certain heads of canons which had been agreed upon by the Lower House. "After which he had some discourse with the bishops, concerning injustice offered by the impropriators and their farmers to the more indigent clergy, in detaining from them their salaries, oblations, and ecclesiastical fees, as also how injuriously churchwardens were chosen, and parish clerks, to the disturbance and vexation of the clergy. The prolocutor also presented the Archbishop a canon for obtaining the writ *de Excommunicatis capiendis* out of his Majesty's Honourable Court of Chancery."* On the 18th, a letter was read from the King, directing them to make a canon for restraining the growth of Popery, and of "heretical and schismatical opinions," and recommending them to devise some oath to be taken by the clergy, pledging them to abide by the doctrine and discipline here established, and never consent to any innovation or alteration thereof. On the 19th, the canons against Popery, &c., Socinianism, and the Declaration of Makes canons.

* Nalson, i., 365-6.

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His Majesty's Royal Supremacy, were agreed to. May 21.—The House was occupied with matters relating to the subsidy or benevolence * granted by the clergy to the King. May 22.—Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, made his protest against the proceedings of the Synod, stating that he did not intend to agree to any canons which it should pass, but merely to the grant of subsidies; and on May 29, when the seventeen canons which had been agreed upon, were to be subscribed by all, he refused to subscribe.† In the morning, before the time of subscription, he had called on the Archbishop at Lambeth, and expressed his determination not to subscribe, saying, "He would be torn with wild horses before he would subscribe that canon." (The one against Popery.) Laud remonstrated with him, but could not convince him. "When it came to the Bishop of Gloucester's turn," says Laud, "his lordship would neither allow the canons nor reject them, but pretended (as he had once done about a week before) that we had no power to make canons out of Parliament time. But this was but a pretence to disgrace our proceedings, the better to hide his unwillingness to subscribe that canon against the Papists, as appeared by that speech which he had privately used to me in the morning, and which I publicly charged him with upon this occasion, and he did as publicly

Bishop Goodman protests.

Refuses to subscribe.

* The name was altered from subsidy to benevolence. It was held by the lawyers that a subsidy could not be granted except during the Session of Parliament, but a benevolence might be.

† Nalson, i., 371.

acknowledge." * Having been three times canonically admonished to subscribe or to record his dissent, and being still obstinate, he was suspended by the Archbishop; but afterwards, by the persuasion of Bishops Davenant and Hall, was induced to subscribe. He was then asked whether he subscribed *ex animo* and without reserve; and refusing to answer, his suspension was continued, and the Archbishop informed the King of the whole matter. Chap. XVI. 1640.

Neither Charles nor Laud bore any goodwill to the Bishop of Gloucester. He had been convicted of gross simony, and had been so nettled by the exposure, that for several years he had refused to send in the report of his diocese to the Archbishop. After this he was for a long time absent from his post altogether, under pretence of danger from infection, and the report sent in by him this January was curt and insulting. All was well, he said, for aught he knew to the contrary. But besides this, the King had received secret information of Bishop Goodman having actually consented to turn Papist not very long before,† and was, therefore, quite ready to support Laud in his censure. The bishop, accordingly, was confined to his lodging, and a writ *ne exeat regno* sent him.‡ With His previous conduct.

* *Troubles*, p. 81.

† He was converted by one Hammer, who informed Sir William Hamilton, and he sent word to the King and Secretary Windebank.—See Laud to Windebank. Laud's Works, vi., 539, and note from Clarendon's *State Papers*.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 83. "He got by his restraint," says Fuller, "what he could never have gained by his liberty, namely, of one reputed

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this exception, the Archbishop says, there was no difficulty in the subscription to the canons, "no man else checking at anything." We "suffered ourselves," says Fuller, "according to the custom of such meetings, to be all concluded by the majority of votes, though some of us in the Committee privately dissenting in the passing of many particulars."*

Review of the canons.

A very full account of the construction of the canons will be found in Heylin's *Life of Laud*. Dr. Heylin, in fact, who sat for the Chapter of Westminster, was the first framer of most of them,† and to him especially was committed the difficult task of drawing up a set of visitation articles; the great variety and discrepancy from one another, of those then in use, being strongly disliked.‡ The evident object and intention of making these canons was, as we have before noted, to cover by definite enactments some doubtful and dangerous strainings of the law which had taken place in Church and State.§ The canons against

Popish to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons."—*Ch. Hist.*, xi., iii., 23.

* *Ch. Hist.*, xi., iii., 22.

† See Lathbury's *Convocation*, p. 246, note.

‡ It was intended to draw up a pontificate, to include a form for consecration of churches and churchyards, a form for reconciling penitents, visitation articles, and the ordination services. This useful work was, however, not carried out.

§ These canons stand, *ecclesiastically*, in exactly the same position as those of 1604. They have never been repealed by any subsequent convocation, and are, without doubt, the law of the Church, having been adopted at York also. But there is this difference in their status from that of the canons of 1604. The latter have never been confirmed by Parliament, but the former

the Papists, Socinians, and Brownists, are mere makeweights: the real gist and force of the new body of laws lies in the first and seventh canons. By the former, the doctrine of the King's divinely delegated power, uncontrollable by human law, is stated as broadly as the divines dared; and the consequences flowing from this doctrine, as they had been drawn by Sibthorp and Mainwaring, warily and cautiously laid down.* The King is said to have the power to "call and dissolve councils both national and provincial," to him "tribute, custom, aid, and subsidy, and all manner of necessary support and supply is due from his subjects by the law of God, nature, and nations." For subjects to bear arms against their King, "upon any pretence whatsoever, is a way to obtain for themselves damnation," and all ministers are bound to "preach, teach, and exhort the people to obey, honour, and serve their king," according to the way laid down in this canon, and in no other. Here is an evident attempt to fasten upon the Church by way of law the views which the more servile of the Court divines had industriously laboured to spread at the time of the first great loan. If we turn to the 7th canon we shall find a similar attempt made in the matter of ceremonies. With a most carefully-studied, conciliatory tone, it

were distinctly disallowed by the 13th Charles II.—See Lathbury's *Convocation*, 256-7; Kennet's *Complete History*, iii., 113.

* "Somewhat there was," says Heylin, "which galled them more than all the others together; that is to say, the propositions for asserting the regal power, making it absolute and independent with reference both to Pope and people."—*Life of Laud*, p. 445.

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is asserted that it is an indifferent matter in itself where the holy table stands, but yet "we judge it fit and convenient that all churches and chapels do conform themselves in this particular, to the example of the cathedral or mother church," that is to say, the table must be altar-wise. Again, it is very uncomely to see hats and caps cast on the holy table, people sitting on it or under it; consequently, it must be decently severed with rails. It is fit that the administration of holy things should be with all possible reverence; therefore, at the words *Draw near*, all communicants, "with all humble reverence, shall draw near and approach to the holy table."* Lastly, with a long explanation as to the Church being the House of God, &c., bowing† is ordained, "not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the communion-table, the east, or church, or anything therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus

* It is singular that nothing is said about receiving the elements kneeling. Had Bishop Montagu's compromise begun to prevail?

† The canons of 1604 ordained bowing at the name of Jesus, and many did not scruple at this who would by no means adopt the Laudian practice of bowing towards the holy table. Thus Sir E. Dering, Laud's great opponent, speaks with a burst of eloquence, "Must I, sir, hereafter do no exterior reverence, none at all, to God my Saviour, at the mention of his saving name, Jesus? To deny this—to forbid it to be done—take heed, sir; God will never own you, if you forbid his honour. Truly, sir, it horrors me to think of this. For my part, I may, I must, I will do bodily reverence unto my Saviour, and that upon occasion taken at the mention of his saving name Jesus."—*Speeches on Religion*, p. 85.

Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God's majesty." The abolishing of lay excommunication may have been partly a concession to Puritanical objections, or rather, perhaps, is due to a more ecclesiastical view of the Church's censure now prevailing; the other matters of discipline treated of, probably needed attention, but they were not of any great importance.

The really important canons are those which we have mentioned; and the sixth, which was designed to enforce for ever an exact conformity and obedience by the imposition of what was so well known afterwards by the name of *The Et Cætera* Oath. This oath was as follows:—"I, A. B., do swear, that I do approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a

The *Et Cætera* oath.

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Christian, so help me God." This oath was to be taken before November by all men in orders, and all graduates (except the sons of noblemen).*

It would appear that the doubtful *et cætera* which caused such a ferment was not really intended to be any trap or snare. It was merely put in to avoid the repetition of such terms as chancellors, commissaries, officials, and so on. Heylin, however, says it was intended to make the enumeration perfect afterwards, and "to expunge this unlucky *et cætera* before it came to be engrossed; but the King, being weary of the charge and clamour, which the keeping of a guard on the Convocation did expose him to, did hasten them to a conclusion by so many messages, brought by Vane and others, that, in the haste, this unlucky *et cætera* was forgotten, and so committed to the press accordingly."† If this was indeed due to a chance piece of carelessness, it was truly an unfortunate slip, for a tremendous storm arose throughout England at the oath. The movement began with a small knot of London ministers, among whose names we find the well-known ones of Calamy and Goodwin,‡ but from them it spread rapidly through the country. The ministers, schoolmasters, and physicians, in Kent, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Northamptonshire, and most counties of England, petitioned against it; some objecting to the oath as contrary to the oath of supremacy;

Excitement caused by it.

* Sparrow's *Collections*, 359, 360.
† Heylin's *Laud*, p. 444.
‡ Nalson, i., 496.

some complaining of the *et cætera* in the middle.* Bishop Hall tried to lay the storm by judicious explanations of the meaning of the oath,† but in spite of this, many, even of the well-disposed and conformable clergy, were preparing themselves for resistance. Chap. XVI. 1640.

At this juncture a wise and moderate man (one of the brightest ornaments of the English Church) came forward and represented the state of things to the Archbishop. Robert Sanderson writes from his Parsonage at Boothby Pagnell. "Finding, to my great grief, the great distaste that is taken generally in the kingdom at the oath enjoined by the late canons, I held it my bounden duty rather to hazard the reputation of my discretion, than not faithfully to give your Grace some intimation thereof, and I am much afraid that multitudes of churchmen not only of the preciser sort, but even such as are other ways every way regular and conformable will either utterly refuse to take the oath or be drawn thereunto with much difficulty and reluctancy.....The peace of the Church is apparently in danger to be more disquieted by this one occasion, than by anything which hath happened in our memories. These things I have made bold to represent to your Grace's consideration, presuming upon your Grace's known zeal for the good and peace of the Church."‡ The popular cry was, that the bishops were concealed Papists, and that Sanderson's letter so Laud.

* Neal's *Puritans*, ii., 286; Fuller's *Ch. Hist.*, xi., iii., 25, 26; Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, i., 16.

† Nalson, i., 498-9.

‡ *Ibid.*, i., 497.

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The oath dispensed with.

the *et cætera* was introduced designedly to make way for the bringing in of the Pope's name; the more temperate and rational objected to the oath on the ground of its seriously contravening the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, inasmuch as by the new oath, clergymen were bound never to admit what by the former oaths they had declared was in the power of the King to effect. The Archbishop either yielded to the storm, or the King, acting on other advice, saw that it was necessary to interpose. An order was sent from York desiring the primate to dispense with the oath until the meeting of the next convocation.* Some of the prelates had already imposed it, and even caused their clergy to take it kneeling, which, according to Fuller, was an unheard of thing.† Bishop Hall, in the diocese of Exeter, though he explained its lawfulness, never enforced it, nor so much as tendered it to any one.‡ Doubtless many more of the bishops acted in the same way, but enough had been done to furnish an unfortunate pretext for the factious and discontented to raise, apparently with some reason, the cry of bad faith and Papistical treachery against the governors of the Church.§

* Laud thus writes to his suffragans: "Since my last letters to your lordship concerning the late oath, and the tendering of it to the clergy, I have received other letters by his Majesty's commands, which require me to signify to your lordship and to all the rest of our brethren, that he will have the oath totally forborne, both at ordinations and institutions, as well as otherwise, till the next ensuing convocation, which now draws on again. Of the performance of this you may not fail."—Laud's Works, vi., 584.

† Fuller, *Church Hist.*, xi., iii., 28.

‡ Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 289—293.

§ Heylin's *Laud*, p. 443.

Already (May 9), the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth had been assaulted by a riotous mob, and some damage done. Laud himself, warned of the danger, had retreated to Whitehall, and one of the rioters having been executed, a stop was put for the moment to the tumults. After this, it had been found necessary to protect the sittings of Convocation by an armed guard. Events, however, were rapidly bringing on a crisis in which the intervention of an army would scarce have saved the bishops from the popular fury.

Lambeth Palace assaulted.

The miserable impolicy of the dissolution of the Short Parliament, which was well-affected to the King, had obliged the Government to resort to the old expedients for raising money to carry on the war against the Scotch. These were sufficiently galling at all times, and at the present moment were borne with the less patience, because they were to be employed to curb the Scotch, who had managed to make powerful friends in England; and to uphold the *régime* of bishops, which was beginning to be sufficiently distasteful throughout the country. Some £300,000 was, however, raised, and the first division of the army under Lord Conway despatched to the North. Conway was an imbecile voluptuary, and having suffered a disgraceful defeat at Newburn, by his misconduct and incapacity allowed the Scotch to take Newcastle, to their own intense astonishment. Lord Strafford was now called from Ireland to take the command of the army, and the King himself hastened to the North; negotiations were set on foot, and divided and treacherous coun-

Army marches against the Scotch.

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sels distracted the unfortunate King. "Between an enemy proud and insolent in success, an army corrupted, or at best disheartened, a country mutinous and inclined to the rebels, and a Court infected with all three, the King could not but find himself in great straits; besides that, his treasure which had hitherto kept that which was best from being worse, was quite spent.*" There was no alternative but to patch up a hasty truce with the Scotch, and again to summon a Parliament. The King himself says, with reference to this momentous act, that it was done not more by others' advice, and the necessity of his affairs, than by his own choice and inclination, and that no man was better pleased with the convening of the Parliament than he himself.† "The odium and offences which some men's rigour or remissness in Church and State had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectify what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution."‡ Such may have been, and probably were, the King's intentions, but from the moment of his summoning the famous Long Parliament, the control of matters was virtually taken out of his hands.

King determines to call another Parliament.

Six days before the Parliament began, we find the following entry in Archbishop Laud's *Diary:* "Oct. 27.—Simon and Jude's Eve. I went into my upper study to see some MSS. which I was

Laud's omens.

* Lord Clarendon's *Hist. of Rebellion*, p. 59. Oxf. ed., 1843.
† *Eikon Basiliké*, c. i. ‡ *Ibid.*

sending to Oxford. In that study hung my picture, taken by the life; and coming in I found it fallen down upon the face and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament. God grant this be no omen!" There were omens of more reasonable import than this, that a great danger was at hand. The High Commission Court had been forced to retire from Lambeth, and sit at St. Paul's for security. Here, however, the Court was invaded by a disorderly mob of some 2,000 sectaries, who "tore down all the benches in the consistory, and cried out they would have no bishop, no High Commission."* Bishop Hall's peaceful rule in the West was disturbed with dangers. "In the vacancy before the summons," he says, "and immediately after it, there was great working secretly for the designation and election as of knights and burgesses, so especially (beyond all former use) of clerks for the Convocation; when now the clergy were stirred up to contest with and oppose their diocesans, for the choice of such men as were most inclined to the favour of an alteration."† The King himself heard of the "partiality and popular heats with which elections were carried on in many places," but hoped "that the gravity and discretion of other gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons in a

* Laud's *Diary*. "I like not," writes Laud to Usher, "this preface to the Parliament."—Laud's Works, vi., 586.

† Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iv., 296.

Chap. XVI. 1640.

Threatened dangers.

due temperament."* A vain hope! gravity and discretion were to go out of fashion now, and their voice to be but little heard in the national councils. Men's blood was at fever heat. A long series of petty tyrannies and galling misgovernment had embittered and exasperated the nation. Puritans and patriots had a cause in common. The genuine English spirit of hatred of oppression had for the moment shaken hands with the sour asceticism of a narrow-minded bigotry. The country gentlemen condescended to listen to the snuffle of the Calvinistic Sabbatarian, or the wild ravings of the Anabaptist, that from the union of all discontents might result the pressure of an irresistible political power.† The King, narrow-minded and obstinate, could not understand his people. The bishops, doting about rails and tables, thought to stifle a national outbreak by a few flimsy and illegal canons. The more wary courtiers began to fly from the coming storm. Lord Strafford, scorning the pusillanimity of meaner spirits, was savagely drilling his battalions in the North, and beckoning from Ireland his wild and reckless bands.

Archbishop Laud, overwhelmed with business, and weighed down by cares, still struggled onward

* *Eikon Basiliké*, c. i.

† "Men and parties the most opposite in character and views, were combined together against a system which, in whatever manner it had arisen, was plainly inconsistent with the liberties of the nation, and thus wise and honourable men, the true friends of the constitution, were engaged for a time with those who were for levelling thrones, dignities, and estates, to prepare the way for the kingdom of Christ."—Southey's *Book of the Church*, p. 453.

with untiring zeal after the phantom of conformity for which he had sacrificed the Church. Meanwhile, his oldest friend and most constant ally, the man who had at first patronized him, and then been beholden to his good offices, the Churchman who, by skilful acts and adroit flatteries, had risen from an unknown schoolmaster to an Archbishop—from the shop of a tallow-chandler to the primacy of the north—Richard Neile, Archbishop of York, prevented, by a timely death, the ruin which he would otherwise have shared with his more illustrious colleague. Bishop, in succession, of Rochester, Litchfield and Coventry, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and York, he yet was neither conspicuous for learning, nor for diligence in his office. He did not preach once in twelve years, but he was Clerk of the Closet both to James and Charles, and knew how to please them both. He was one of a class of men of whom the Church of England can never be proud.

Death of Archbishop Neile.

But there were men at this period among the ministers of the English Church whose names will ever be held in affectionate remembrance. There were learned scholars, deep thinkers, clever writers. And besides these, who have set a mark upon history, there were hundreds of men who "left no memorial, who have become as though they never had been, and perished as though they had not been born; but these were merciful men whose righteousness hath not been forgotten." These were the men who redeemed and restored to the affections of the nation a Church ruined by the

The clergy of the period.

Chap. XVI. 1640.

tyranny and impolicy of its governors. During the ascendency of their order, loyalty and devotion seemed sycophancy and self-seeking, but amidst the disruption of all things, in misfortune and reproach, the same qualities, still constantly cherished, shone forth as the brightest virtues. The fatal gift of power overthrew the English Church, but the sweet uses of adversity renewed and revived it. The bishops, in their pride of place, cast it down, but the humble, patient, long-suffering parish-priests of England raised it up. To tell the story of its fall and of its rise, of the meek endurance of the clergy, and of its reward, of the religious mania of the nation, and its gradual resipiscence, is the difficult but grateful task which we propose to ourselves in the next volume.

CHAPTER XVII.

Great divines and writers in the Church at this time—Dr. Thomas Jackson—Bishop Hall—Bishop Morton—Bishop Davenant—Archbishop Usher—Bishop Bedell—Sir Thomas Browne—Clergy not generally distinguished for learning—Laud's munificence—Yet his influence baneful on letters—Number of poets at this period—Quarles—George Herbert—Dr. Donne—Donne's sermons—Troublous times beginning.

Chap. XVII.

THE majority of the bishops promoted by Archbishop Laud were not theologians, but disciplinarians. They belong rather to the external than the internal history of the Church. But the Church was by no means barren of great divines at this epoch. The three bishops whose theology was most opposed to that of the primate, though in practice his eager zeal had brought them to uphold his disciplinarian views, Hall, Morton, and Davenant, were all writers whose works demand some notice at our hands. In Ireland flourished that "colossus of learning," James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and in our universities there were living men who are to be reckoned among the leading theological writers of our Church.

Great divines and writers in the Church at this time.

Chap. XVII. Dr. Thomas Jackson.

Foremost among these we place Dr. Thomas Jackson, president of Corpus Christi college, Oxford,* a worthy successor to the great Reynolds. The works of this voluminous author are not so well known as those of his contemporary, Bishop Hall, or as the witty sermons of Bishop Andrewes, or the unapproachable treatise of Hooker.† They well deserve, however, the attention of all theological students.‡ "It is to be expected," says Barnabas Oley, "that two objections will militate against this great author. The one, that his style is obscure;§ the other, that his doctrine is Arminian. To the former of these, I answer that his style is full and deep, which makes the purity of it seem a kind of blackness and darkness; and though it abound in substantial adjectives, yet it is more short than other authors in relatives, in eking and helping particles, because he writ to scholars. His stream runs full, but always in its own channel and within the banks. His pen drops principles as frequently as ordinary men's do sense. His matter is rare. His notions, uncouth particles of truth

* A personal sketch of Dr. Thomas Jackson will be found given above, chap. xii.

† I suspect Mr. Hallam had never read him. "Jackson had a considerable name," says he, "but I do not think he has been much quoted in modern times."—*Hist. Lit. Europe*, ii., 357. This is all he has to say of him.

‡ "They were once thought inestimable by everybody but the Calvinists."—Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii., 664.

§ "Of all his adversaries, none put him to greater trouble than Dr. Jackson, whose sense and meaning he could hardlier find out than confute his errors, all things in him being hidden in such dark expressions and deep obscurity."—Clarke's *Life of Dr. Twiss*, p. 16.

digged *è profundo*, and so at first aspect look like strangers to the ordinary intellect, but with patience and use will cease to be so. The second objection is mere noise. He is religiously careful to give God the 'glory of his grace.' But from such as teach that 'all events are so irresistibly decreed by God that none can fall out otherwise than as they do,' or 'that nothing can be amended that is amiss,' he justly differs. For besides that the tenets be Turkish; being pressed, they yield a morbid, bitter juice, and put out a forked sting. This great author having framed to himself an idea of that complete body of divinity, which he intended, did direct all his lines in the whole periphery of his studies, unto the heads contained in the creed as unto their natural centre."* He published in his lifetime nine books of comment upon the great doctrines of the creed, and left many others unpublished. Chap. XVII.

As a theologian, Dr. Jackson occupies a middle place between the patristic school of Laud, Cosin, and Montagu, and the latitudinarian school of Chillingworth and Hales. The former argued against the Romanist from the Fathers and the practice of the Primitive Church, the latter overthrew his dogmata from Scripture and Reason. But Chillingworth had no positive theology, and did not assert the existence of a guide which could direct all religious opinions without fail into perfect truth. His view was that an honest interpretation of Scripture was a sufficient, not a complete di-

* Barnabas Oley's Account, prefixed to Dr. Jackson's Works, ed. 1653.

Chap. XVII. rector.* "I will think," he says, "no man the worse man, nor the worse Christian, for differing in opinion from me. I am fully persuaded that God does not, and, therefore, that man ought not, to require any more of any man than this—to believe the Scripture to be God's Word, to endeavour to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it."† This rule of charity was arrived at by this masterly thinker, because he did not see that there was any universal infallible authority to be reached; Scripture being liable to so great a variety of interpretations. But Dr. Jackson held otherwise. He believed that in Scripture interpreted under certain moral conditions, with faith and prayer, there was, by the action of God's spirit on the mind of the Christian student, a complete and infallible guide on all religious matters. "*He* cannot," says he, "fail in anything; and whatsoever he saith, or what his spirit shall witness to my spirit to have proceeded from him, I am bound to believe. And in the confidence of God's promises for the increase of faith and grace for all such as use them aright, every Christian, in sobriety of spirit, may, by the principles of faith, planted by God's finger in his heart, examine the sentences and decrees of the wisest men on earth, approve them if he can discern

* See Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, ii., 325.

† *Religion of Protestants*, p. 272. Compare with this Sir T. Browne: "I could never divide myself from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that, from which, perhaps, in a few days I should dissent myself."—*Religio Medici*, Works, ii., 326, ed. 1852.

them to be true, confute them if false."* He thus makes the test of truth subjective, and refers it, in great measure, to the αἴσθησις of the good man in reading the Scriptures—a doctrine which has ever been the most prevalent and the most popular in our Church, though divines have usually had a tendency towards the school of Laud, and men of the world have favoured the bolder views of Chillingworth. Dr. Jackson is greatly inferior in lucidity of style and argument to Chillingworth; and in vigour, earnestness, and spirit, to Bishop Hall. Chap. XVII.

In naming Hall, indeed, we name a prince and chief among our English divines—equally good at all weapons, equally surpassing in every department of theology. Fuller's character of him is well known: "He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his style. Not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in his sermons, better in his characters, best of all in his meditations."† Less known, perhaps, is the eloquent tribute of the venerable Bishop Morton to the merits of his friend: "God's visible, eminent, and resplendent graces of illumination, zeal, piety, and eloquence, have made him truly honourable and glorious in the Church of Christ."‡ But the highest tribute to the merits of Bishop Hall's writings is their great and unceasing popularity with Bishop Hall.

* *Jackson on the Creed*, Works, i., 268, ed. 1653.
† Fuller's *Worthies*, ii., 566.
‡ Hall's Works, ix., 318.

Chap. XVII. the unlearned and poor. Side by side with the writings of Bunyan and Defoe, portions of them are to be found on many a cottage shelf; and the pious contemplations of the witty and eloquent bishop have gladdened and strengthened many a soul in sickness, sorrow, and pain. Do we seek the cause of this? It will be found in the fact that Joseph Hall had not only earnest, practical piety, great learning, great zeal, but also the invaluable gift of genuine wit and humour. Resembling Bishop Andrewes in the raciness, point, and piquancy of his imaginings, he far surpassed him in his power of expressing, in nervous and telling words, the products of his brain. His style is eminently happy, effective, graphic, and genuine. His mind was stored with learning. He had studied men and things under many circumstances, in various lands. His power of illustration is inexhaustible; his wit always fresh and telling; his knowledge of Scriprure profound; his sense of the wants, dangers, and difficulties of men deep and practical; his charity and loving spirit abundant. With these qualifications he could scarcely fail of addressing himself effectively to men. And he shone in all subjects. His satires are the best imitations of the Juvenalian vein which we possess; * his letters some of the most charming specimens of earnestness, without dulness. No man brought more telling weapons to play upon the Romanists. He rivals Crakanthorp in biting sarcasm, Reynolds in exact learning, and Chillingworth in clear logical

* Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 427-8-9. Ditto, 478-9.

deduction. Brownists and Separatists were demo- Chap. XVII.
lished by his wit, and episcopacy, by his skill, placed on a firmer and clearer basis than it had been left by Bilson. But this is the least pleasant part of his literary history. We have already seen how he took his cue from Laud, and altered his treatise to order. Doubtless, there is nothing but his genuine convictions written there, but we would rather have had an entire original.

It is not, however, as a controversial writer that Bishop Hall is known and celebrated. Beyond all his fellows, he laboured to set himself free from the trammels of party, to compose and soothe theological differences, and to give a practical turn to the studies of divines. He endeavoured this in his *Way of Peace*, in the Quinquarticular controversy, and in his *Old Religion* and *Reconciler*, in the Romish disputes. Although a moderate Calvinist in his views, and to a certain extent committed to the theological notions of that party, he yet would not lend the authority of his name to the vain opinions upon the subject of the visible Church, which were advocated by some whom he esteemed. He laid down clearly that the Church of Rome, although overlaid by superstition and error, was yet a true Church; and to the question, Where was the Reformed Church before Luther? he answered, that it was as yet unreformed in the bosom of the Romish Church. His entirely practical writings are, however, his highest glory. He was a man of an intense and earnest piety. In this spirit, he has passed in review the whole of the Old Testament

Chap. XVII. and New, and given us his Contemplations on them. How many religious minds have these Contemplations assisted, how many careless ones have they touched! His Essays, Meditations, Sermons, Vows, all breathe the same sanctified earnestness. No man can read a page of them without being convinced that the writer was a holy man. How immeasurably valuable such a man was in the times in which he lived; how great a work he must have done for the cause of true religion: those best can estimate who have most closely studied the Laudian period.

Practical religion scarce.

We believe the Primate to have been a religious-minded man, but he was overwhelmed with business, both ecclesiastical and secular, and his devotional habits were not the most prominent of his life. Many, however, of the bishops who carried out his discipline, were by no means examples of religious living. Bishop Corbet, of Norwich, scarce preserved the exterior of decency. When a Doctor of Divinity, he had sung ballads at the market-cross of Abingdon, and when promoted to the bench he could not restrain his facetiousness even on the most solemn occasions. "One time, as he was confirming," says Aubrey, "the country people pressing in to see the ceremony, said he, 'Bear off there, or I'll confirm ye with my staff.' Another time, being to lay his hand on the head of a man very bald, he turns to his chaplain, and said, 'Some dust, Lushington,' to keep his hand from slipping. The bishop sometimes would take the key of the wine-cellar, and he and his chaplain

would go and lock themselves in and be merry. Then first he lays down his episcopal hat—'There lies the doctor.' Then he puts off his gown—'There lies the bishop.' Then 'twas 'there's to thee, Corbet,' and 'here's to thee, Lushington.'" * Many others of the bishops are spoken of in Laud's Reports with great severity. The good Bishop Hall, however, had the wit and facetiousness of Corbet without his license, and the earnestness of some of the Puritanical clergy, without their narrow-mindedness, cant, and bigotry. Chap. XVII.

Bishop Morton.

Neither did this great light shine alone. In the far north Morton, at Durham, lent a lustre to our episcopacy nearly as bright as that of Hall in the south-west, and through a life protracted long beyond the ordinary age of man, defended the Church with his pen, and adorned it with his piety. Thomas Morton was born at York, in the year 1564, and educated at the same school as the notorious Guido Faux.† From thence he passed to St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became Fellow, and, through the Deaneries of Gloucester and Winchester, reached the episcopal bench, being consecrated Bishop of Chester, July 7, 1616.‡ It was soon after his consecration that he accompanied King James in his progress through Lancashire, and drew up, at the King's direction, the famous *Book of Sports*,§ the republication of

* Aubrey's *Lives*, ii., 293.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, ii., 540. ‡ Le Neve's *Fasti*.

§ *Morton's Life*, by Barwick, p. 81-2. Fuller speaks of this book as "written largely and learnedly;" but it is a dull and pointless panegyric, and gives very few facts.

Chap. XVII. which, in the year 1633, caused so great a ferment in the Church. Some twelve years before this he had appeared as a controversial writer against the Puritans, in his *Defence of the Three Ceremonies of the Church of England, viz., the Surplice, Cross after Baptism, and kneeling at the Sacrament.*" Most of his other works were directed against the Romanists. In 1618 he was translated to Litchfield, and in 1632 to Durham. "The neb of his pen," says Fuller, "was impartially divided into two equal moieties, the one writing against faction, the other against superstition: witness *The Grand Impostor*, and other worthy works."* Bishop Morton was a man in the highest possible repute with his contemporaries. When he defended the practice of bowing towards the east on entering church, his opinion was eagerly quoted by Laud and his followers as one from which there could be no appeal.† Bishop Hall thus addresses him: "Your excellent and zealous writings have justly won you a constant reputation of great learning and no less sincerity, and have placed you out of the reach of suspicion. No man can, no man dare misdoubt your decision."‡ Certainly, his antecedents would not lead us to expect to find Bishop Morton classed among the favourers of Puritanism, yet he was generally placed with Hall and Davenant as against the theologians of the school of Laud. Like the Bishop of Exeter, he writhed

* Fuller's *Worthies*, ii., 541.

† *Vide* Heylin's *Laud*, Morton's *Episcopacy Asserted*, preface, iv.

‡ Hall to Morton, Hall's Works, ix., 317.

under the peculiar and obnoxious system encouraged by the Primate, and complained of having spies about him who misreported his doings. Laud thus answers one of his letters remonstrating against some underhand dealings:—"Your complaint is somewhat large that there hath been sinister working against you through the sides of others; but your lordship shall do well not to trouble yourself much with it, for I know not the bishop whose place calls him to do anything, but he is so served."* Bishop Morton's works are entirely controversial, and are not free from the blemishes which disfigured the polemics of that day, and from which, in fact, the controversial divinity of no age is altogether free. But there is a hearty and manly tone in his writings as well as an acuteness and force in his arguments, together with occasional bursts of nervous eloquence, which place him high in the rank of controversial writers.

Bishop Davenant.

Of a less Catholic spirit than Hall or Morton, and more committed to the peculiarities of the Calvinistic theology, was Dr. John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury. He, like Hall, had been at the great Protestant meeting at Dort, and had appeared on the side of Bogerman and the Calvinists against the Arminians. But he had honourably distinguished himself by an earnest advocacy of the tenet of universal redemption, and was the principal cause of the English College giving in a view favourable to that doctrine. Bishop Carlton was anxious to alter some expressions in the opinion

* Laud to Morton, Laud's Works, vi., 571.

Chap. XVII. to which the English divines had agreed, in order to promote unity with the Dutch Calvinists, but Davenant declared earnestly that he would rather have his right hand cut off than that they should be altered, and he prevailed with his colleagues.* As Divinity Professor at Cambridge, Davenant's prelections obtained considerable renown.† The best known are those which are published in the form of Commentaries on the Epistles to the Romans and Colossians. Though by no means free from the usual faults of commentators, and rather inclined to talk about a difficulty instead of fairly meeting it, these writings display much talent and learning. Bishop Davenant's Latin is not so classical or so vigorous as that of Crakanthorp or Hall, but his composition is clear, and his reflections valuable. He was very strongly opposed to the Romish Church, and was not willing to grant that she was a true Church in error, but rather regarded her as utterly apostate, and essentially antichristian.‡ In this Davenant agreed with the learned James Usher, Primate of Ireland, and went further than his friend Bishop Hall, who (as we have already seen), being called upon by Laud to alter some places in his treatise on Episcopacy, where he had styled the Pope antichrist, was willing to do so.

* Letters of Carlton and Davenant, in Appendix to Hales's *Golden Remains*.

† "Your lordship hath with great reputation spent many years in the Divinity chair of the famous University of Cambridge."—Hall to Davenant, Hall's Works, ix., 319.

‡ See Davenant's letter to Hall, Hall's Works, ix., 320.

Chap. XVII. Archbishop Usher.

By the side of Usher, all the attainments of his contemporaries appear dwarfed and stunted,* and if he had been as great as a bishop, as he was as a scholar, he would have been almost unapproachable.† But Usher was a lax and unskilful administrator, and by no means the most fortunate governor whom the Church of Ireland could have had in the difficult times when he presided over it. Though deeply learned in antiquities, the theological sympathies of the Irish Primate were with the moderns; he cherished, and was thoroughly imbued with the Calvinistic theology. He favoured "bodies of divinity,"‡ and digests of the dicta of the most famous reformers; he could only regard the Romanists as his natural enemies, nor see anything in their system but superstition and idolatry. To him the Lambeth Articles were the perfection of wisdom, and it was only through short-sightedness or timidity that he quietly endured to see the Irish Articles which embodied them expelled by the English. In private life, Usher was an amiable and almost spotless character. As a preacher he was earnest, eloquent, impressive; speaking *ex*

* Masson's *Life of Milton*, i., 481; Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, ii. 355. "In his extraordinary learning, he has perhaps never been surpassed by an English writer."—Hallam.

† "His physician, Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him: 'If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian, as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief churchman of Christendom.'"—Burnet, quoted by Elrington, *Life of Usher*, 121.

‡ The book published under his name, with this title, was not written by him.—Elrington's *Life*, p. 249.

Chap. XVII. *tempore* with unfaltering fluency, and never failing to rivet the attention of his audience. "He had a way," says Burnet, "of gaining people's hearts and touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the Apostolical age revived; he spent much of his time in these two best exercises, secret prayer and dealing with other people's consciences, and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment."* Usher is perhaps best known by his scheme of moderate episcopacy, which was a conception of his charitable spirit to meet the heats and embroilments of those troublous times. In this scheme the bishop is reduced to be a sort of president of a college of Presbyters, and differing from them only in rank, not in degree, was to act in all things with their concurrence. But this was a mere ephemeral and unstudied effort of his learned mind. His fame will for ever rest on his *Antiquities of the British Churches;* his *Life of Gotteschalcus;* his *Religion of the Ancient Irish;* and the many treatises on Christian antiquities, and the obscurer passages of ancient ecclesiastical history which he gave to the world. His chronological labours have been of vast service to the cause of learning, and his critical skill rescued that valuable monument of antiquity, the epistles of Ignatius, from neglect and contempt. We may look upon Usher as a scholar not so much of national as of European fame. His books, written in the language of the learned, were

* Burnet, quoted by Elrington, *Life of Usher*, 121.

addressed to scholars in all lands, and by them appreciated and studied. He was blessed with a marvellously vigorous habit of body, and was thus enabled to carry on the prodigious labours which his writings required with wonderful assiduity. He preached even to the last, and when he died, his learning and virtues were sufficiently conspicuous to extort a public funeral even from the bishop-hating Protector. Chap. XVII.

If the Irish Church could at this time boast the greatest scholar, it could also boast the most efficient episcopal administrator of the day. Of all the Laudian bishops, with the single exception perhaps of Juxon, William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, stands in the foremost place. As chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, when the great movement took place in the Venetian Church, Bedell had been the bosom friend of Paul Sarpi, the famous ecclesiastical historian, and the adviser of Marc Antony de Dominis, the most ingenious of controversialists. Returning to England, without any attempt to gain high preferment in the Church, Bedell had retired to a living in Norfolk, where he lived in obscurity for twelve years. It is said that the learned Diodati on visiting England, and immediately inquiring for one so well known, and so much valued in Italy, could hear nothing of him. Nobody knew what had become of a man who had never sought to thrust himself forward, nor had ever been seen hanging about the Court to catch the smile of favourites. At length Diodati accidentally met with his friend, and it was the value Bishop Bedell.

Chap. XVII. which he set upon him, and the account which he gave of the estimation in which he was held by Father Paul, which induced Bishop Morton to study his advancement. Bedell was promoted to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, which he administered with success for two or three years, and from thence was removed at the recommendation of Archbishop Laud to the See of Kilmore. With a courageous heart and a wise discretion, he set himself to grapple with the outrageous scandals then prevalent in his diocese, and which, as we have before noted, were tolerated even by Usher. He was the first to carry out to any extent the attempt to address the native Irish in their own language, and so beloved did he become among them, that in the terrible crisis of the Rebellion his house was a sanctuary which they devoutly respected, and in which numerous English settlers in peril of their lives, found security. Unfortunately we are not able to speak much of Bishop Bedell's merits as a writer. We know him as the faithful and learned translator of part of Sarpi's great work into Latin, and of his *History of the Inquisition*, and of *Interdicts* into English; but the great work of controversial theology on which he is said to have expended much labour and research, was unhappily destroyed while yet in MS. during the Irish troubles.* The loss was no slight one. Bedell had enjoyed opportunities which few English divines of his day had been allowed, of studying intelligently and fairly the points in dispute between the two churches.

* See account of Bishop Bedell in *Biographia Britannica*.

He had watched the Venetian movement, and been brought into close and intimate connection with the master minds which directed it. The friend of Paul Sarpi would take no narrow, prejudiced, or irrational views in controversy.* He would be as far in advance of Usher in the breadth and clearness of his positions, as Usher might be of him in the minute antiquarianism of learned research. He might have developed in a way to command respectful attention the Catholic views of Laud and Montagu, which in their more incompetent hands only caused offence and scandal. Like Hugo Grotius in Holland, or the wise Sir Thomas Browne,† Bedell might have rejected the commonplaces of an angry Protestantism, and written of the Romanists more temperately than Chillingworth, or Jackson, or Hall, or Morton, but with an equal learning and logical acuteness. As it is, however, his principal fame (and it is no slight one), must rest on the undisputed fact that he was an eminently devoted Christian bishop.

* "I dare not say that many of the Popish clergy being members of the Court be not also members of the true Church, yea, and saved also." "I would fain have a definition of a visible Church that might exclude a Popish Church, and leave still Lutheran Churches, yea, leave Christ any visible Church upon earth for some ages."—Bedell to Dr. Ward, *Tanner MSS.*, 74, 164.

† "It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of Rome, to whom, as a temporal prince we owe the duty of good language. I confess there is a cause of passion between us; by his sentence I stand excommunicated; heretic is the best language he affords me, yet can no ear witness I ever returned to him the name of Antichrist, man of sin, or whore of Babylon."—*Religio Medici*, Browne's Works, ii., 325, ed. 1852.

Chap. XVII. Sir Thomas Browne.

But in taking a hasty glance at the chief theologians of this period, we must not confine our attention to professional divines. Great laymen now appear occupying a conspicuous place among religious writers. Milton had not as yet exercised his keen pen in theological controversy, but a man of a more humble and reverent spirit than Milton, and almost as imaginative, though greatly inferior in power, was the Norwich physician, Sir Thomas Browne. His *Religio Medici* is in every way a most remarkable work. Composed about 1630, but not published till some twelve years afterwards, and then surreptitiously and in an imperfect form, it exhibited to the world the inmost thoughts and fancies of a singular and exquisite mind. Soaring above the heats and prejudices of his day, Browne was able to take a philosophical view of religion, and to be led by his philosophy itself to a reverent, humble submission to the revealed Word of God. No man, he says, had had more "sturdy doubts" and "boisterous difficulties," but these he had conquered "not in a martial posture, but on his knees." He had "perused all objections," but could "discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief;" and after the most thoughtful and scrupulous consideration, "he dares to assume the honourable title of a Christian."

His most famous treatise is divided into two books, one of which contains his speculations on the subject of faith, and the other on that of charity. With regard to his faith, he collects it, he says, from two books. "Besides that written one of

God, another of his servant Nature, that universal and public manuscript that lies expansed unto the eyes of all." He believes the Holy Scriptures to be the infallible Word of God, but where they are silent the Church is his text, and where both are silent, he is guided by his reason. He views the Church of Rome in a charitable spirit, saying, "We have reformed from them, not against them." At the sight of a cross or crucifix he can "dispense with his hat," and be kindled to devotion by "the Ave-Mary bell." Yet he will not be bound by the "conclusions and fallible discourses of man upon the word of God." An inquirer, but not a sceptic, he can perceive that "to believe only possibilities is not faith, but mere philosophy," and thus making reason assign a place for miracles, he can accept without scruple those which are confirmed by a sufficient testimony. In his belief he says "there are many things singular, yet if they square not with maturer judgments, I disclaim them," and humble as he is in his faith, so is he expansive in his charity. Without this he declares "faith is a mere notion, and of no existence," and he thus nobly discourses of this excellent virtue. "I hold not so narrow a conceit of this virtue as to conceive that to give alms only is to be charitable, or think a piece of liberality can comprehend the total of charity. As many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable. These are infirmities not only of body but of soul and fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold

Chap. XVII. him with as much pity as I do Lazarus. It is no greater charity to clothe his body than apparel the nakedness of his soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours. I make not, therefore, my head a grave, but a treasury of knowledge. I intend no monopoly, but a community of learning. I envy no man that knows more than myself, but pity them that know less. I cannot fall out, and condemn a man for an error, or conceive why a difference of opinion should divide an affection. In all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose, for then reason, like a bad hound, spends upon a false scent, and forsakes the question first started."

The concentrated wisdom and genuine Christian spirit in this and many other passages of Sir T. Browne's writings cannot but command our admiration. "He united," says Mr. Hallam, "an acute and sceptical understanding, with strong devotional susceptibility—the temperament so conspicuous in Pascal and Johnson."* By no means free from blemishes, nor exempt from vain conceits and fancies, Sir Thomas Browne may yet be ranked as one of the foremost philosophical religious writers, of whom our language can boast.

The names we have enumerated may be considered as splendid exceptions to the assertion that the period under consideration was not fertile in great writers. The assertion, however, is neverthe-

* Hallam, *Cons. Hist.*, i., 485.

Chap. XVII.

Clergy not generally distinguished for learning.

less true. The times of James were too much fettered and cramped by the dwarfing influence of controversy, and the aggressiveness of Laud kept Churchmen too practically busy to allow the fitting opportunity for the exposition of high and deep thoughts. In this, too, as in all other points, the fatal talent of secular power was the ruin and bane of the Church. It was not necessary for the clerk to excel in scholarly attainments, when he could command an easier respect by pointing to the Court of High Commission. In the first forty years of the seventeenth century, the clergy rose vastly in social position, but, as in the times of James they were too poor and ignorant, so in the days of Charles they were too busy and managing, to become a literary class.* They may have possessed a respectable amount of professional learning, but only in a few instances did they show a conspicuous excellence, and some even of those few were affected by the speciality of their studies.†

Yet there are enough great minds to preserve unbroken from the days of Hooker to the period of the troubles, the chain of pre-eminent talent and pious earnestness, of which our Church so justly boasts. And if in the days of Laud the de-

* It is not intended here to contend against the great authority of Mr. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, ii., 357) or Mr. Masson (*Life of Milton*, ch. vi.) that this was an unlearned age among the clergy, only that *few* of the English clergy were distinguished. "Of learning not theological," says Mr. Hallam, "the English clergy had no extraordinary portion."

† Thus Lightfoot, the great authority on eastern topics, and Mede, who chiefly applied himself to the Apocalypse, are too *special* for a great place in general literature.

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velopment of mind was hampered by the civil ascendency of Churchmen, let us not forget that this ascendency was taken advantage of in some conspicuous instances to confer substantial benefits on the cause of learning. Archbishop Laud was a munificent patron of letters. The building which he erected at Oxford, and filled with choice manuscripts; the care with which he sought for rare manuscripts in the East, through the agency of the merchants; his foundation of the professorship of Arabic, at Oxford, and his appointment of the learned Pocock to be the first professor;* his establishment of a Greek press at London; his intimacy and constant correspondence with the learned Vossius, chiefly on literary topics; even the way in which he treated John Hales, so different from his ordinary sternness—all attest this. Yet Laud, with the most munificent readiness to help, in reality exercised a baneful influence on letters. Genuine talent is not developed in the face of a press closely censured and guarded. Men do not write with freedom and earnestness, when an unguarded expression may cost them their ears. Preachers cannot be eloquent when they have to compose to order, and publishing becomes dry and uninviting work when everything has been toned down to suit the requirements of an Archbishop's chaplain.†

Laud's munificence.

Yet his influence baneful on letters.

* "I am now going to settle my Arabic lecture for ever on the University. And I would have your name in the deed, which is the best honour I can do for the service."—Laud to Pocock, Laud's Works, vi., 578.

† Even the bishops and their chaplains had to submit their works to the censure of the Archbishop's chaplains. Laud thus

Thus while Laud encouraged letters by his gifts, he repressed them by his discipline, and the greater part of his bishops thought it best to confine themselves to articles of inquiry and an occasional sermon in praise of themselves and the King.* Yet at this period English prose had almost reached its most perfect form. Hallam, no over-friendly critic, considers that nothing can surpass the character-sketches of Lord Clarendon, and it is doubtful whether religious subjects can be more effectively treated than in the language of Bishop Hall. Milton had already written some of his most beautiful minor pieces, and was preparing himself to show the intense vigour with which he could handle his pen in prose. The involutions of Hooker have disappeared in Chillingworth,† and antithetical point is found to perfection in Sir Thomas Browne. But, before all things, this period was distinguished by the number of its poets, several of whom were churchmen. This is the era of Cowley and Waller; of the Fletchers, Crashaw, and Wither; of Herrick, Suckling, Davenant, and Bishop Corbet; of Quarles, Herbert, and Donne. Of the three last, Herbert is the one now best known and most read, but Dr. Donne's reputation was the highest among his contemporaries.

Chap. XVII.

Number of poets at this period.

writes to Morton:—"About your chaplain, whom you have left here behind you in the south: I sent you word he was going to print a book, which my chaplain had licensed to the press."—Laud's Works, vi., 549.

* Burton, quoted by Masson, *Life of Milton*, i., 511.

† "There is (in Chillingworth) an inartificial eloquence springing from strength of intellect and sincerity of feeling, that cannot fail to impress the reader."—*Lit. Europe*, ii., 324.

Chap. XVII. Quarles, says Mr. Masson, had "a tone of thought
Quarles. essentially Puritanical." His best known work is his *Emblems*, through which a bitter melancholy vein runs, and in which the most extravagant notions on the misery of human life, and the sin and corruption of nature are to be found. Every English churchman knows and values the pious
George Herbert. musings of George Herbert, and the expressions which his devout soul found in sacred melody. But his poetry is not only devotional, it rises sometimes almost to the sublime, and it has been well described as "a poetical enunciation of the beauty
Dr. Donne. of holiness."* Dr. Donne is little read now, which is, perhaps, scarce to be wondered at. "He is the most inharmonious of our versifiers," says Mr. Hallam, "if he can be allowed to have deserved such a name by lines too rugged to seem metre."† His poems are chiefly in the metaphysico-religious strain, but he, also, like Bishop
His sermons. Hall, indited sharp and biting satires. In a man so famous among his contemporaries there must have been something great, and the real ground of his reputation will, probably, be found to consist in the excellence, learning, and impressiveness of his sermons, aided by a grave and striking delivery. "They are, undoubtedly, the productions," says Hallam, "of a very ingenious and very learned man;" but one who (in his view) had "perverted his learning to cull every impertinence of the fathers and schoolmen."‡ In fact, the sermons of Dr.

* Masson's *Milton*, i., 452.
† Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, iii., 32. ‡ *Ib.*, ii., 358.

Donne may be estimated by the better known, and still more able, discourses of Bishop Andrewes. There are in both the same fanciful conceits, surprises, puns, quirks, and oddities—a style of sermon which needs very great and eminent merits in its matter, to redeem the offensive peculiarity and unedifying quizzical air of its manner. That in Dr. Donne's case there was sufficient earnestness of delivery and solidity of matter to overcome the faults of composition, we have the very strong testimony of Isaac Walton, his biographer. "He preached the word so as to show that his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to distil into others: a preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to Heaven, in holy raptures, and enticing others, by a sacred art and courtship, to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those who practised it, and a virtue so as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace, and an inexpressible addition of comeliness." * Probably no divine of his time was more generally valued than Dr. Donne. Within a year after his taking orders, he had fourteen advowsons offered to him. The benchers of Lincoln's Inn importuned him to accept their lecture; and King James, whose taste in theology he exactly suited, quickly made him Dean of St. Chap. XVII.

* Walton's *Life of Donne;* Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, iii., 648.

Chap. XVII. Paul's. This dignity he enjoyed for about nine years, exhibiting in his death a pattern of Christian devotion, and carrying with him to his grave the love and reverence of all good men. Both Donne and his friend, George Herbert, saw only the peaceful days of the Church of England. They were both, happily for themselves, removed by death before the over-minute strictness of Church rulers, combined with the oppressions of the civil government, had raised, organised, and vivified, a compact and powerful mass of determined opposition throughout the land.

Troublous times beginning.

A sad and troublous time was now to begin. Men's hearts were to fail them in perplexity and dismay. On one side was to be ranged the Patriot, speaking the glorious words of civil liberty, and describing, with eloquent zeal, the birthright of the free man. On the other, the humble, self-denying, devout son of the Church, speaking of reverence to the "powers that be," pointing to the time-honoured fabrics of the Churches, the concentrated religion of the Liturgy, the stately order of the services, the grave and devout character of the King. Between these many a doubting, trembling, hesitating spirit would soon have finally to choose. It would seem a question with many between independence and faith, patriotism and religion, love of country and reverence for the Most High. That there was a way for all to choose aright we may not doubt; but that the choice was a difficult one, we may also unhesitatingly assert, since posterity has not yet given the verdict absolutely on either side.

Appendix A.

A TABLE OF THE SUCCESSION OF ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS FROM 1600 TO 1640.

From Le Neve's "Fasti."

CANTERBURY.

1. Richard Bancroft (Bishop of London), succeeded John Whitgift, December 10, 1604; died November 2, 1610.
2. George Abbot (Bishop of London), confirmed April 9, 1611; died August 4, 1633.
3. William Laud (Bishop of London), confirmed September 19, 1633; beheaded January 10, 1645.

YORK.

1. Tobias Matthew (Bishop of Durham), succeeded Matthew Hutton, August 18, 1606; died March 29, 1628.
2. George Monteine or Mountaigne (Bishop of Durham), confirmed July 1, 1628; died soon after.
3. Samuel Harsnet (Bishop of Norwich), confirmed January 13, 1629; died May 18, 1631.
4. Richard Neile (Bishop of Winchester), confirmed March 19, 1632; died October 31, 1640.

Appendix A.

LONDON.

1. Richard Vaughan (Bishop of Chester), succeeded Richard Bancroft, December 24, 1604; died March 30, 1607.
2. Thomas Ravis (Bishop of Gloucester), confirmed May 18, 1607; died December 14, 1609.
3. George Abbot (Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), confirmed January 20, 1610; translated to Canterbury, 1611.
4. John King, consecrated September 8, 1611; died March 30, 1621.
5. George Monteine or Mountaigne (Bishop of Lincoln), confirmed July 20, 1621; translated to Durham, 1627.
6. William Laud (Bishop of Bath and Wells), confirmed July 15, 1628; translated to Canterbury, 1633.
7. William Juxon (Bishop Elect of Hereford), consecrated October 27, 1633; translated to Canterbury, 1660.

WINCHESTER.

1. James Montagu (Bishop of Bath and Wells), succeeded Bilson, October 4, 1616; died July 20, 1618.
2. Lancelot Andrewes (Bishop of Ely), confirmed February 25, 1619; died September 21, 1626.
3. Richard Neile (Bishop of Durham), confirmed February 7, 1628; translated to York, October, 1632.
4. Walter Curle (Bishop of Bath and Wells), confirmed November 16, 1632; died 1647.

DURHAM.

1. William James succeeded Tobias Matthews, September 7, 1606; died May 12, 1617.
2. Richard Neile (Bishop of Lincoln), confirmed October 9, 1617; translated to Winchester, February, 1627.
3. George Monteine or Mountaigne (Bishop of London), confirmed, 1627; translated to York July 1, 1628.
4. John Howson (Bishop of Oxford), confirmed September 18, 1628; died February 6, 1632.
5. Thomas Morton (Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), confirmed July 2, 1632; died September 22, 1659.

St. Asaph.

1. Willian Morgan (Bishop of Llandaff), confirmed September 17, 1601; died September 10, 1604.
2. Richard Parry, consecrated December 30, 1604; died September 26, 1623.
3. John Hanmer, consecrated February 15, 1624; died July 23, 1629.
4. John Owen, consecrated Septenber 20, 1629; died October 15, 1651.

Bangor.

1. Lewis Baily succeeded Henry Rouland, December 7, 1616; died October, 1631.
2. David Dolben, consecrated March 4, 1632; died November 27, 1633.
3. Edmund Griffith, consecrated February 16, 1634; died May 26, 1637.
4. William Roberts, September 24, 1637; died 1665.

Bath and Wells.

1. James Montagu succeeded John Hill, April 17, 1608; translated to Winchester October 4, 1616.
2. Arthur Lake, consecrated December 8, 1616; died May, 1626.
3. William Laud (Bishop of St. David's), confirmed September 18, 1626; translated to London 1628.
4. Leonard Marne, consecrated September 7, 1628; died September, 1629.
5. Walter Curle (Bishop of Rochester), confirmed December 4, 1629; translated to Winchester 1632.
6. William Pierce (Bishop of Peterborough), confirmed December 13, 1632; died April, 1670.

Bristol.

1. John Thornborough (Bishop of Limerick), confirmed July 12, 1603; translated to Worcester, Dec., 1616.
2. Nicholas Felton, consecrated December 13, 1617; translated to Ely, 1618.
3. Rowland Searchfield, consecrated May 9, 1619; died October 11, 1622.
4. Robert Wright, consecrated March 23, 1623; translated to Lichfield and Coventry, 1632.

Appendix A. 5. George Coke, consecrated February 10, 1633; translated to Hereford, 1636.
6. Robert Skinner, consecrated January 15, 1637; translated to Oxford, 1641.

CHICHESTER.

1. Lancelot Andrewes succeeded Anthony Watson, November 3, 1605; translated to Ely, 1609.
2. Samuel Harsnet, consecrated December 3, 1609; translated to Norwich, 1619.
3. George Carlton, (Bishop of Llandaff), confirmed September 20, 1619; died May, 1628.
4. Richard Montagu, consecrated August 24, 1628; translated to Norwich, 1638.
5. Brian Duppa, consecrated June 12, 1638; translated to Salisbury, 1641.

ELY.

1. Martin Heton, consecrated February 3, 1600; died July 12, 1609.
2. Lancelot Andrewes (Bishop of Chichester), confirmed November 6, 1609; translated to Winchester, 1618.
3. Nicholas Felton (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed March 11, 1618; died October 5, 1626.
4. John Buckeridge (Bishop of Rochester), confirmed July 15, 1628; died May 23, 1631.
5. Francis White (Bishop of Norwich), confirmed December 8, 1631; died February, 1637.
6. Matthew Wren (Bishop of Norwich), confirmed May 5, 1638; died April 24, 1667.

EXETER.

1. Valentine Cary succeeded William Cotton, November 18, 1621; died June 10, 1626.
2. Joseph Hall, consecrated December 23, 1627; translated to Norwich, 1641.

GLOUCESTER.

1. Thomas Ravis succeeded Godfrey Goldsborough, March 19, 1605; translated to London, 1607.
2. Henry Parry, consecrated July 12, 1607; translated to Worcester, 1610.

3. Giles Thompson, consecrated June 9, 1611; died June 14, 1612.
4. Miles Smith, consecrated September 20, 1612; died October 20, 1624.
5. Godfrey Goodman, consecrated March 6, 1625; died January 19, 1655.

HEREFORD.

1. Robert Bennet succeeded Herbert Westfaling, February 20, 1603; died October 25, 1617.
2. Francis Godwin (Bishop of Llandaff), confirmed November 28, 1617; died April, 1633.
3. Augustine Lindsell (Bishop of Peterborough), confirmed March 24, 1634; died November 6, 1634.
4. Matthew Wren, consecrated March 8, 1635; translated to Norwich November, 1635.
5. Theophilus Field (Bishop of St. David's), confirmed December 23, 1635; died June 2, 1636.
6. George Coke (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed July 2, 1636; died December 10, 1646.

LITCHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

1. George Abbot succeeded William Overton, December 3, 1609; translated to London, 1610.
2. Richard Neile (Bishop of Rochester), confirmed December 6, 1610; translated to Lincoln, 1613.
3. John Overal, consecrated April 3, 1614; translated to Norwich, 1618.
4. Thomas Morton (Bishop of Chester), confirmed March 6, 1619; translated to Durham, 1632.
5. Robert Wright (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed November 28, 1632; died 1642.

LINCOLN.

1. William Barlow (Bishop of Rochester), succeeded William Chadderton, June 27, 1608; died September 7, 1613.
2. Richard Neile (Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), confirmed February 18, 1614; translated to Durham October 9, 1617.
3. George Mountaigne, consecrated December 14, 1617; translated to London July 20, 1621.

Appendix A. 4. John Williams, consecrated November 11, 1621; translated to York December 4, 1641.

NORWICH.

1. John Jegon succeeded William Redman, February 20, 1603; died March 13, 1618.
2. John Overal (Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry), confirmed September 30, 1618; died May 12, 1619.
3. Samuel Harsnet (Bishop of Chichester), confirmed August 28, 1619; translated to York, November 26, 1628.
4. Francis White (Bishop of Carlisle), confirmed Jan. 22, 1629; translated to Ely December 8, 1631.
5. Richard Corbet (Bishop of Oxford), confirmed May 7, 1632; died July 28, 1635.
6. Matthew Wren (Bishop of Hereford), confirmed December 5, 1635; translated to Ely, 1638.
7. Richard Montagu (Bishop of Chichester), confirmed May 4, 1638; died April 13, 1641.

OXFORD.

1. John Bridges (See having been vacant eleven years), consecrated February 12, 1604; died March 26, 1618.
2. John Howson, consecrated May 9, 1619; translated to Durham, 1628.
3. Richard Corbet, consecrated October 19, 1628; translated to Norwich, 1632.
4. John Bancroft, consecrated June 10, 1632; died February, 1641.

PETERBOROUGH.

1. Thomas Dove succeeded Richard Houland in 1600; died August 30, 1630.
2. William Pierce, consecrated November 14, 1630; translated to Bath and Wells, December, 1632.
3. Augustine Lindsell, consecrated February 20, 1633; translated to Hereford, March, 1634.
4. Francis Dee, consecrated May 18, 1634; died October, 1638.
5. John Towers, consecrated January, 1639; died Jan. 10, 1648.

ROCHESTER.

1. William Barlow succeeded John Young, June 30, 1605; translated to Lincoln, 1608.
2. Richard Neile, consecrated October 9, 1608; translated to Litchfield and Coventry, 1610.
3. John Buckeridge, consecrated June 9, 1611; translated to Ely, 1628.
4. Walter Curle, consecrated September 7, 1628; translated to Bath and Wells, 1629.
5. John Bowle, consecrated February 7, 1630; died October 9, 1637.
6. John Warner, consecrated January 14, 1638; died October 14, 1666.

SALISBURY.

1. Robert Abbot succeeded Henry Cotton, December 3, 1615; died March 2, 1618.
2. Martin Fotherby, consecrated April 19, 1618; died March 11, 1620.
3. Robert Tounson or Tonson, consecrated July 9, 1620; died May, 1621.
4. John Davenant, consecrated November 18, 1621; died April 20, 1641.

WORCESTER.

1. Henry Parry (Bishop of Gloucester), succeeded Gervase Babington, October 4, 1610; died December 12, 1616.
2. John Thornborough (Bishop of Bristol), confirmed February 7, 1617; died July 9, 1641.

CARLISLE.

1. Robert Snowden succeeded Henry Robinson, November 24, 1616; died May 15, 1621.
2. Richard Milbourne (Bishop of St. David's), confirmed, 1621.
3. Richard Senhouse, consecrated September 16, 1624; died, 1626.
4. Francis White, consecrated December 3, 1626; translated to Norwich January, 1629.
5. Barnabas Potter, consecrated March 15, 1629; died, 1641.

Appendix A.

CHESTER.

1. George Lloyd (Bishop of Sodor and Man), succeeded Richard Vaughan, 1604; died August 1, 1615.
2. Thomas Morton, consecrated July 7, 1616; translated to Litchfield and Coventry March 6, 1619.
3. John Bridgman, consecrated May 9, 1619.

SODOR AND MAN.

1. John Philips succeeded George Lloyd, February 10, 1605; died, 1633.
2. William Forster, consecrated March 9, 1634; died, 1635.
3. Richard Parr, consecrated June 14, 1635.

ST. DAVID'S.

1. Richard Milbourne succeeded Anthony Rudd, July 9, 1615; translated to Carlisle, June, 1621.
2. William Laud, consecrated November 18, 1621; translated to Bath and Wells, September 18, 1626.
3. Theophilus Field (Bishop of Llandaff), confirmed September 18, 1627; translated to Hereford, 1635.
4. Roger Manwaring, consecrated February 28, 1636; died July 1, 1653.

LLANDAFF.

1. Francis Godwin succeeded William Morgan, October 22, 1601; translated to Hereford, 1617.
2. George Carlton, consecrated July 12, 1618; translated to Chichester, 1619.
3. Theophilus Field, consecrated October 10, 1619; translated to St. David's, 1627.
4. John Murray, confirmed December 24, 1627.
5. Morgan Owen, consecrated April 9, 1639; died, 1645.

Appendix B.

" Particular orders, directions, and remembrances, given in the Diocese of Norwich upon the primary visitation of the reverend father in God, Matthew Wren, lord bishop of that see." Anno Christi, 1636.

I. That the whole Divine service be read, both the first and second services, on Sundays, and holy days, and lecture days, if they have any; and that the communion service, called the second service, be audibly and distinctly read at the communion table unto the end of the Nicene Creed before the sermon or homily; yet so as in very large churches the minister may come nearer to read the Epistle and Gospel, and after the sermon and homily the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, and one or more of the appointed collects at the communion table likewise, and there to dismiss the congregation with the peace of God, &c.

II. That the prayer before the sermon or homily be exactly according to the LVth canon, " mutatis mutandis," only to move the people to pray in the words there prescribed and no otherwise, unless he desire to interpose the name of the two universities and of a patron; and no prayer to be used in the pulpit after sermon, but the sermon to be concluded with Glory be to the Father, &c., and so come down from the pulpit.

III. That the communion table in every church do always stand close under the east wall of the chancel, the ends thereof north and south, unless the ordinary give particular direction otherwise, and that the rail be

Appendix B. made before it according to the archbishop's late injunctions, reaching cross from the north wall to the south wall, near one yard in height, so thick with pillars that dogs may not get in.

IV. That the litany be never omitted on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and that at all times the minister be in his surplice and hood whensoever he is in public to perform any part of his priestly function, and that in reading the chapters he leave out the contents, and after the lessons do use no psalms or hymns but those that are appointed in the Common Prayer Book.

V. That the "Gloria Patri" be said after every psalm, all standing up; and that the people do audibly make all answers in the litany, and all other parts of the service, as is appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; and to that end to lead the common people therein, that there be a clerk in every parish that can read sufficiently, and have a competent allowance from the parish, and where there is none, that there be one forthwith appointed and chosen according to the canon.

VI. That the "Quicunque vult," or creed of Athanasius, be used on the days by the rubric appointed, instead of the Apostles' Creed, and that ministers forget not to read the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels appointed for the conversion of St. Paul, and for all the holy week before Easter, and for St. Barnaby's day, and for Ash Wednesday, with the Commination also on that day: and also to use the prayers and suffrages in going the perambulation, which is yearly to be observed in every parish upon the rogation days, viz., the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Ascension, and at no other times, at which it is anciently enjoined that the ministers at some convenient places do (in a word) admonish the people to give thanks to God, beholding his benefits in the fruits of the earth, saying Psalm ciii., and as time and places shall admit, Psalm civ., and at any special boundmark, repeating this or such holy sentence of scripture, "Cursed be he that removeth away the mark of his neighbour's land," and that returning at last to the church, there they say the Divine service.

VII. That no man presume to have his hat on his head in the time of service and sermon in the church,

and that due and lowly reverence be visibly done by all persons present when the blessed name of the Lord Jesus is mentioned, and that every one of the people do kneel devoutly when the confession, absolution, commandments, or any collect, or other prayer is read, both at the time of the common service of the Church, as also at christenings, burials, marriages, &c.

VIII. That warning be given by the minister for holy days and fasting days in the next week following, immediately after the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, and that as soon as such warning is given, the second of those three exhortations which, next after the prayer for the universal Church are set down in the service book, be tractably pronounced; after which do follow some of the collects appointed, and then to dismiss the people with the peace of God, &c.

IX. That when any need is, the sick by name be prayed for in the reading desk, and no where else, at the close of the first service, except it be in the afternoon, and then to be done immediately after the creed, using only those two collects which are set down in the service book for the visitation of the sick; that next after the marriage (if there be any) be begun in the body of the church, and finished at the table; that the churching of women begin as soon as the minister comes up to the communion table, before the second service, unless there be a marriage the same day, for then the churching is not to begin till those prayers to be said at the Lord's table for the marriage be ended.

X. That women to be churched come and kneel at a side near the communion table without the rail, being veiled according to the custom and not covered with a hat, or otherwise not to be churched but presented at the next generals by the minister, or churchwardens, or any of them.

XI. That they go up to the holy table at marriages at such time thereof as the rubric so directeth, and that the new married persons do kneel without the rail, and do at their own charge, if the communion were not warned the Sunday before, receive the holy communion that day, or else to be presented by the minister and the churchwardens at the next generals for not receiving.

Appendix B.

XII. That no minister presume to marry any persons whereof one of the parties is not of his parish, unless it be otherwise expressly mentioned in the license; nor that he marry any by virtue of any faculties or license, wherein the authority of an archdeacon or official is mentioned, "sub pœna suspensionis."

XIII. That the parishioners be warned by the minister and churchwardens to bring their children to the church for baptism in due time, and if any child be not brought before the second lesson, that then the parents be prescribed for that default, and that no baptism be administered excepting in the case of extreme necessity, but on the Sunday or holy day.

XIV. That the font at baptism be filled with clean water, and no dishes, pails, nor basins be used in it, or instead of it, and that the minister admit but two godfathers and one godmother for a male child, and two godmothers and one godfather for a female, and then do at first ask them whether the child be yet baptized or no, and do take it in his arms and sign it with the sign of the cross when he baptizes it, and after all do admonish them to bring it to confirmation, when time shall serve.

XV. That all communicants come up severally and kneel before the rail to receive the holy communion, and that the minister repeat to every communicant severally all the words that are appointed to be said at the distribution of the holy sacrament.

XVI. That no wicker bottles or tavern pots be brought unto the communion table, and that the bread be brought in a clean cloth or napkin, and that the words of consecration be audibly repeated again if any bread or wine be to be used which was not at first consecrated.

XVII. That the minister and churchwardens of great parishes, to avoid confusion and over-long wearying of the minister and of the parishioners, do take order that there may not come above 300 or, at the most, 400 communicants to one communion, for which occasion they are warned to have communions the oftener.

XVIII. That the holy oblations, in such places when it pleaseth God at any time to put into the heart of his people by that holy action to acknowedge his gift of all

they have to them, and their tenure of all from Him, and their debt of all to him, be received by the minister standing before the table at their coming up to make the said oblation, and then by him to be reverently presented before the Lord, and set upon the table till the service be ended.

XIX. That the minister do catechise in the afternoon, half-an-hour at least, immediately after the last ringing or tolling of the bell for the evening prayer, according to the questions of the Church catechism only, and standing in the reading desk.

XX. That the minister's reading desk do not stand with the back towards the chancel, nor too remote or far from it.

XXI. That the chancels and alleys in the church be not encroached upon by building of seats, and if any be so built, the same to be removed and taken away; and that no pews be made over high, so that they which be in them cannot be seen how they behave themselves, or the prospect of the church or chancel be hindered, and therefore that all pews, which within do much exceed a yard in height be taken down near to that scantling, unless the bishop by his own inspection, or by the view of some special commissioners, shall otherwise allow.

XXII. That none of what rank soever do keep any chaplains, schoolmasters, ministers, or scholars in their houses to read prayers and expound Scriptures, or to instruct their family, unless they be thereunto enabled by law.

XXIII. That whereas sermons are required by the Church of England only upon Sundays and holy days in the forenoon, and at marriages, and are permitted at funerals, none presume to take upon them to use any preaching or expounding, or to have any such lecturing at any other time without express allowance from the bishop.

XXIV. That every one allowed to be a lecturer do read the Divine service fully in his surplice and hood before every lecture, in the same manner as is appointed on Sundays; and that all lecturers behave themselves modestly in their sermons, preaching faith, obedience, and good works, in all things observing his majesty's

declaration prefixed before the thirty-nine articles, and his majesty's injunctions, without meddling with matters of state, news, or questions, late in difference, nor favouring or abetting any schismatics or separatists, either by special prayer for them, or otherwise approving of them.

XXV. That the churchwardens suffer no man but their own parson, vicar, or curate, to preach upon any occasion in their church till he show his license and subscribe his name in their paper book, for that purpose appointed, and the name of the bishop who licensed him.

XXVI. That there be the same manner of ringing and tolling of bells to church on holy days, as is used on Sundays, and that there be no difference of ringing to church when there is a sermon more than when there is none, excepting the knells for funerals.

XXVII. That no church windows nor chancel windows be stopped up in any part, nor the floor in any part unpaved or uncleanly kept, nor the churchyard any ways abused, annoyed, or profaned.

XXVIII. That all defaults, contrary to the premises, be faithfully inquired into by the officials from time to time at their generals, of whom the bishop will require an account concerning the same.

End of the First Volume.

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